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The Representation of the Country House in Individual Books and Guides 1720-1845

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Thesis submitted for the degree of DPhil

University of Sussex

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I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature.....

Paula Riddy

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Firstly, I owe huge thanks to my supervisor, Professor Maurice Howard, for being a constant source of inspiration and support.

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UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

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THESIS FOR DEGREE OF DPHIL

**THE REPRESENTATION OF THE COUNTRY HOUSE IN INDIVIDUAL
BOOKS AND GUIDES 1720-1845**

SUMMARY

During the eighteenth century a trend began for the publication of books devoted to the description of single country house; an early stage in the development of the country house guidebook. A survey of this largely unanalysed genre found it to be a much larger phenomenon than had previously been thought, with a peak in new publications later than has been suggested. The issue of the commission, details of production and uses and distribution of the guidebook are all previously neglected aspects of research. Analysis of these has given a greater insight into the context of production, and has shown the direct involvement of the house owner in many cases. In the secondary literature which does exist on this genre, the bias towards considering the contents of guidebook from the perspective of the tourists' reception, or as an objective document, neglects the huge potential for analysis of the sub-agendas which were involved in these publications. These less overt potential messages included a justification of the country estate in general, as well as more individual markers which related to the house owner himself. This thesis has begun to rectify the lack of research into the guidebook, and to highlight this fruitful source of material on the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. It has begun the innovative task of looking beyond guidebooks as merely a factual account of the estate, and to acknowledge that their objectivity is in question; the books were often nuanced towards given a particular impression and motivated by specific agendas. The house was represented both as an object of admiration in its own right but also used as a vehicle for the projection and display of the individual qualities and identity of the owner.

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
BLOU	Bodleian Library, Oxford University
CCA	Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal
COT	Cotehele House archives
CRO	Cornwall Records Office
LA	Lacock Abbey Collection Fox Talbot Museum, Lacock
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects

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Introduction

The Country House

Each of these houses may be said to reflect honour on its architect, as well as on the character of the English nobleman.¹

The English country house has been and remains a potent yet evolving cultural and social symbol. Its value today lies more in the modern conception of heritage than as a marker of the ruling elite, and yet the development and relationship of these two elements in the national psyche is complex. As John Britton wrote in 1840 in the quotation above, there was scope for the potential of a country seat to have a resonance which reflected on the characters involved with it. There are a variety of ways in which the country house has been theorised in modern times, and current approaches have gone beyond the conception of the country house purely in terms of architectural style, towards a broader understanding which contextualises the house in social and cultural history. The representation of the country house in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries both informs the debate about the meaning of the country house and adds to it.

The biography of the architect is one way in which the country house has been examined and classified. A property such as Saltram House in Devon might be cited as a typical Robert Adam house because of the Palladian casing which he gave it in the 1740s, for example.² Alnwick Castle, by contrast, received a Gothic-style makeover which was not typical of Adam's usual neo-classical work.³ Although informative, there are obvious limitations to this approach which is potentially reductive, and which circumvents other aspects of the property. Firstly, a house might be the product of several architects' work over many decades, and at Saltram this can be seen in the entrance porch and library added by architect John Foulston in 1819.⁴ Secondly the approach is limited to those elements of the house which are linked to the architect's life and career, and restricts the enquiry to architectural elements.

¹ J. Britton, *Graphic illustrations, with historical and descriptive accounts of Toddington*, (London, 1840), pp. iii-iv. For all references to and details of guidebooks in the research sample, see the appendix.

² National Trust, 'Saltram House', at National Trust website at: <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/saltram/> [accessed 28.05.14].

³ J. McDonald, *Alnwick Castle: The Home of the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland*, (London: Frances Lincoln Ltd., 2012), pp. 20-22.

⁴ C. Johnson, *Saltram Devon*, (Swindon: National Trust, 2005), p. 5 & p. 50.

The limitation also applies to more generally stylistic approaches to the study of architecture. Within this framework a house might be labelled as Palladian, for example, and inserted within the category of eighteenth-century houses of this description. Such a stylistic analysis can lead to the implication of progression, although it is nonetheless informative. Notable writers such as Nikolaus Pevsner and John Summerson have used this approach in their monumental publications.⁵ Sometimes in the literature, the biography of the house owner is linked to the house, an example of which is Strawberry Hill, where the architecture has a clear link with the input, life and personality of Horace Walpole.⁶ In other cases the owner might have had less direct input into the house development, but the house has nevertheless been described as a symbol of the owner's worth: the most obvious example is Robert Walpole's power being linked to the stately symmetry of his Palladian seat at Houghton Hall.⁷ The country house had much potential to make statements of social and economic worth of the owner, especially in the case of larger properties which would have dominated the surrounding area.

When Mark Girouard's book *Life in the Country House* was published in the 1970s, it offered a revolutionary approach to the country house which involved the social use of the space in and around the property as the central point of focus.⁸ This made a valuable addition to the examination of architecture *per se*, by understanding the dynamic function of the building beyond its static attributes. Dana Arnold has extended this argument to look at the way that the increase in country house visits in the period allowed a sense of inclusion amongst the community, whilst maintaining the aristocratic exclusion of privilege. She has theorised that this function promoted a sense of cohesiveness and national identity in society.⁹ This dynamic has also been written about as potentially leading to oppression rather than inclusion. Andrew Ballantyne has

⁵ N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England*, series, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1958-2014), & J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1993), [1953].

⁶ For example see M. Snodin, (ed.), *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

⁷ For example see W. Speck, 'Britain's First Prime Minister', & A. Moore, 'Sir Robert Walpole: The Prime Minister as Collector', in A. Moore, (ed.), *Houghton Hall: The Prime Minister, the Empress and The Heritage*, (London: Philip Wilson Publishers Ltd., 1996), pp. 12-19 & pp. 48-55.

⁸ M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1978).

⁹ D. Arnold, (ed.) *The Georgian Country House: Architecture Landscape and Society*, (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), p. 19.

hypothesised that the power of architecture can enhance the status of an individual or of a whole society who might identify or feel represented by it. He also noted the negative nuances of this process and went on to quote George Bataille who highlighted that ‘cathedrals and palaces though which the Church or the State addresses and imposes silence on the multitude’.¹⁰ Arnold has expanded on the analysis of the metaphorical function of the country house by pointing to the class and gender practices of the period.¹¹ She writes of the country house as a symbol for reinforcing the social hegemony by a display of power with resonance socially, culturally and politically.¹² More recent research has looked at the contents of country house collections in the period and the potential for the complex messages that can be conveyed by the mode of display and juxtaposition of items. Gill Perry, for example, has highlighted the complex messages that can be contained within the display of portraiture in a country house in the long eighteenth century, including family lineage, and social and political allegiances.¹³

The display of status in an *urban* setting has been elaborated on in a recent publication which theorised that the formation of ‘fashionable’ identity in the period was enacted through interconnected urban spaces such as the pleasure gardens, Parliament and the theatre.¹⁴ In a variety of social enactments, the society ‘players’ were thus able to be seen engaging in those activities deemed suitable for an elite member of fashionable society, and such visibility also served to confirm allegiances and family connections. Such membership in society is theorised as going beyond frivolity, but as a ‘new form of social leadership, one oriented to the changing conditions and contexts of the period’.¹⁵ Hannah Greig further acknowledged that the possession of a country seat as essential for inclusion into the highest ranks of fashionable society. It is clear that the country seat as a potential site of enactment of social roles results in a less visible performance than promenades and posturing in the

¹⁰ A. Ballantyne, ‘Architecture as Evidence’, in: D. Arnold et al. (eds), *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 37.

¹¹ D. Arnold, *Reading Architectural History*, (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 127-142.

¹² Arnold, *Reading Architectural History*, p. 141.

¹³ G. Perry et al. (eds), *Placing Faces: The Portrait and the English Country House in the Long Eighteenth Century*, (Manchester University Press, 2013).

¹⁴ H. Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London*, (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1-31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.31.

public venues of the metropolis. A landowner could continue to develop and cement allegiances by extending invitations to visit, however, and by engaging on the visiting circuit himself, but his audience would be limited. Promotion of the role and function of the country estate in the context of social and professional identity could instead be spread further afield by representations of the country house; the theory of the enactment of identity in the period adds a further dimension to the analysis of the country house guidebook.

The term ‘country house’ is more usually applied to aristocratic country seats, which have been seen not only as a residence as a retreat from the city, but also as a locus of power and control. The ‘country house’ will be used in this thesis to describe a more inclusive range of properties, from the powerhouses already described to the more modest suburban villa on the periphery of the city.

The Country House Guidebook

During the early eighteenth century, published books dedicated to a description of some or all aspects of an individual country house began to appear. Some of these were written by the architect or builder, some by the property owner, or, later in the century, by authors attempting to cater for the developing trend for country house visits. The books varied greatly in content: some offered illustrations, usually in the form of black and white engravings, others had text descriptions of the park, a list of contents of the house, a list of pictures or full descriptions of the interior. Some books were large, heavy, lavishly bound tomes, others were portable pocket-sized guides. Surprisingly this development in the representation of country houses has only received limited attention in the literature, and there remain many unanswered questions. The motivation behind such publications has not been analysed in detail, nor have the contents of the works themselves; such inquiry could add much to the understanding not only of the status and place of the country house in the period, but of the changing place of the aristocracy within the evolving culture of the day.

The word ‘guidebook’ evokes the modern-day conception of a publication written to guide the reader on a pre-determined route around a building, city or county. Although the terms guide or guidebook will be used in this thesis to refer to the diverse

range of publications about an individual country house, the word ‘description’ might be more accurately used, and was indeed often used in the titles of these books. In addition they were not always used to ‘guide’ a visitor around the property, and in a guide to Blenheim published in 1793 William Mavor expressed the view that the written guide could serve *instead* of a visit to the property:

No publications are more entertaining than delineations of descriptions, drawn with fidelity and taste; they enable persons to form a just idea of remarkable places to which fortune or situations denies them access.¹⁶

The wide range of publications about an individual country house in the eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries do not conform to the modern narrow prescription, but could range across a breadth of literature with some element of description about the house, from a basic catalogue to an essay-style history or discussion. In the absence of an alternative, the word guidebook will be used in this thesis to refer to all publications written with the primary subject of a country house. The books also go beyond the purpose of information; many are objects in their own right, sometimes large and leather-bound, with thick, quality paper and embellished with decorative details and lavish illustrations. They were often of a quality suitable to enhance the library of the house itself or as a collector’s object.

John Harris has made valuable contributions to the literature on the country house guidebook with his summaries of the early beginnings of the genre, and with his survey of the volumes that were published before the mid-nineteenth century. He noted that there were three seventeenth-century predecessors to the country house guidebook: a volume on the gardens at Wilton by Isaac de Caus, who had been responsible for their design; a book of views of Longford Castle by artist Robert Thacker; and plans and views of the works of the Royal Palace at Audley End by the clerk of works for the Royal Palace, Henry Winstanley.¹⁷ He commented that the eighteenth century saw guides to the houses popular with visitors such as Mount Edgcumbe and Stowe, as well as several books by different authors about the collections at Wilton House. In an updated version of his own earlier survey, he found that during each decade from 1760

¹⁶ W. Mavor, *A New Description of Blenheim*, (London: T. Cadell, 1793), p. vi.

¹⁷ I. de Caus, *Wilton Garden*, (London: Thomas Rowlett, c. 1645); R. Thacker, *Views of Longford Castle*, (c. 1680); H. Winstanley, *Plans and Views of Audley End*, (1685-88), J. Harris, ‘English Country House Guides’, in *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed by J. Summerson, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 59.

until the end of the century there were about 15 new guides published. He further wrote that the genre peaked in the 1810s, with 32 new guides, and the 1820s with 33 new guides. He cited the decline from the 1830s onwards as due to a decline in country house visits, linked to the increasing value placed on privacy by the Victorians.¹⁸ With the advent of the railway and, as travel became cheaper by the 1830s, Harris wrote that country house owners were keen to avoid the potential influx of ‘the rabble, and ‘the park gates clanged shut’.¹⁹ Harris’s research has not since been challenged.

The issue of the intended readership of country house guidebooks has not been researched, with the assumption being made that they were inevitably intended for the growing numbers of country house visitors in the period. Visitors to country houses across the period ranged from visits by strangers to the family who might be shown around by a housekeeper, to uninvited visits by friends or relatives as well as guests invited for more extended stays. Celia Fiennes was one of the first travellers around England to write an account of her journeys, which included visits to country houses.²⁰ Esther Moir’s research into eighteenth-century tourism, found early country house visits to have been the preserve of the aristocracy and gentry.²¹ Peter Mandler later supported this assertion, writing that any other assessment is only speculation as barriers to travel amongst a wider population would have meant it was only the minority who could make country house visits.²² It is with this tourist population in mind, as well as the increasing number of visitors in the first half of the nineteenth century, that the current literature on country house guidebooks in the period has focussed. In spite of this emphasis, there is reference to the use of such guides for a purpose other than tourism, and in some cases to the less overt agendas of the books in several sources that discuss the guidebook genre. The larger folio volumes that are noted as appearing from the early eighteenth century have been suggested by Adrian Tinniswood as: ‘more suitable for the gentleman’s library than for practical use’.²³ The author of this assertion further

¹⁸ J. Harris, ‘The Guide in Hand: 18th-century Country-House Guides and Catalogues’, *Country Life*, May 1986, pp.1200-1202.

¹⁹ Harris, ‘The Guide in Hand’, p. 1202.

²⁰ C. Morris (ed.), *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes 1685-1712*, (Exeter: Webb & Bower, 1988).

²¹ E. Moir, *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists 1540-1840*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964), pp. 171-202.

²² P. Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 10.

²³ A. Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist: A History of Country House Visiting*, (London: National Trust, 1998), p.99. [1989].

cites the cost as well as size meant that some guidebooks, such as Horace Walpole's *Aedes Walpolianae* were only intended for the 'discerning dilettante'.²⁴ Other authors cite the size but also the luxury and elite nature of some guides, such as for Chatsworth, Cassiobury Park and Toddington which were not on sale to tourists.²⁵ Many of these books also had a very small print run, and often thought to have been given as gifts for friends rather than being on public sale.²⁶ This is consistent with Peter Mandler's assertion that 'until the early nineteenth-century country houses were private homes of the aristocracy, admired as art objects principally by their owners and immediate circle. Their role in the national heritage properly begins in the early nineteenth century'.²⁷

Country house guidebooks emerged within a trend for the publication of prints and engravings during the eighteenth century. Tim Clayton has surveyed the publication of single engravings of country houses in the Georgian period.²⁸ He wrote that individual engravings of plans and elevations or views, might be circulated amongst friends of the property owner to seek approval or advice. If the guidebook was a more elaborate extension of this motive, albeit after building work had been completed, examination of the contents would lead to further insights. He sees James Kennedy's guide to the antiquities of Wilton House as an early defence of the country house, and this theme could usefully be tracked across other subsequent guides.

National heritage, social cohesion and the use of architectural style as a political symbol

Peter Mandler has discussed the democratising effect of country house visits and related publications which led to an emerging appreciation, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, of the country house as part of the national heritage, not just as an elite possession.²⁹ He presented what he stated as the 'conventional view' that the French Revolution had created a sense of unease amongst the aristocratic landowners of

²⁴ Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist*, p.99

²⁵ J. Harris, *English Country House Guides 1740-1840*, in *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed by J. Summerson, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), pp. 58-74 & K. Cooper, 'Country House Guidebooks', in *Historic House*, Autumn 2010, pp. 35-6.

²⁶ Harris, *The Guide in Hand*.

²⁷ Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, p.3

²⁸ T. Clayton, 'Publishing Houses: Prints of Country Seats' in *The Georgian Country House: Architecture Landscape and Society*, ed by D. Arnold, (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), p. 59.

²⁹ Mandler, *The Rise and Fall of the Stately Home*, p. 3.

Britain, and this sense was reinforced by instability caused by rapid social and economic change, manifesting in events such as the food riots due to an increase in wheat prices in 1794-5, and the Luddite riots from 1811.³⁰ Country houses came under direct threat, such as in 1831 when the Duke of Newcastle's mansion in Nottingham was burned to the ground in the Reform Riots.³¹ The guidebook method of representing country houses developed in the context of such attacks, and was likely to have been influenced by them. Within a context of class fragility, aristocratic possessions began to be presented as a public benefit rather than simply as a marker of inequality. Linda Colley has written of the need in this period for the overt wealth, status and power of the aristocracy to be packaged in a form that was not seen as 'an alien growth'.³² The country house guidebook can be hypothesised as an attempt to serve that need, informed by the property owner's uncertain and changing identity; it was an early form of social identity marketing. William McClung has highlighted one method for the positive promotion of the estate. He theorised that the country estate could claim justification by showing it as a kind of arcadia, an archetypal and idyllic landscape for the fantasy escape of all.³³

As well as social and cultural instability in Britain, there were other political factors that had an influence on the architecture of the country house, and by implication, in how that house would then be represented in a publication. Palladian architecture has been described as almost a Whig national style, whilst the Tory association with traditional old properties is entrenched in our culture. Palladianism promised a clearer interpretation of the classical style than the more elaborate baroque style which members of the previous Tory Government had favoured.³⁴ The publication of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* at the beginning of the eighteenth century

³⁰ Mandler, *The Rise and Fall of the Stately Home*, p. 21.

³¹ Ibid. p. 39 & A. Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), p.77.

³² L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, (New Have & London: Yale University Press, 1992), p.167.

³³ W.A.McClung, 'The Country House in Arcadia', in *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, ed by G. Jackson-Stops et al. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1989), pp. 277-297.

³⁴ T. Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-century England*, (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), p. 42.

had helped to spark a Palladian revival.³⁵ It was published before the establishment of the country house guidebook, and is not only an example of early writing about architecture, but also established the principle of promoting a certain agenda in value of architectural style. Fiction of the period provided a context which supported the view of certain types of architecture conveying certain innate values. It has been noted that in Jane Austen's novels, old-fashioned houses usually indicated positive social standing of the owner, and that in the wider literature of the age the irregular shaped house was linked to conservative values, unlike the symmetrical house built for show.³⁶ Later in the nineteenth century, Henry James made a direct link between conservative politics and the strength of the past as evidenced in architecture in England: 'One had no need of being told that this is a conservative county; the fact seemed written in the hedgerows and in the verdant acres behind them...fine old houses...clustered gables and chimneys'.³⁷

The potential link between new or old architecture and meaning could thus have huge influence on how a property is represented in an image, whether the choice is made to face the full symmetry of a Palladian frontage, or whether to emphasise an ancient archway or irregular angle. Symmetry might be fictitiously enhanced by neglecting to include an unruly wing which detracts from the impact, or alternatively an extra wing might even be pencilled in. The viewers' engagement with the historical aspects of a property was encouraged by the inclusion of figures in historical dress in Joseph Nash's *Mansions of England in the Olden Time*.³⁸ Such a strategy would have interesting implications in a country house guide: it could be argued that the motivation was to engage the public and allow them to identify with British cultural heritage, but it is an area worth exploring further. One writer has even hypothesised 'the distancing

³⁵ C. Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or the British Architect containing the Plans, Elevations and Sections of the Regular Buildings both Publick and Private in Great Britain*, 3 vols, (London, 1715-25) & J. Harris, *The Palladian Revival: Lord Burlington, His Villa and Garden at Chiswick*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 2-3.

³⁶ A.M. Duckworth, 'Gardens, Houses and the Rhetoric of Description in the English Novel', in *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, ed by G. Jackson-Stops et al. (Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1989), p. 402.

³⁷ Quoted in Duckworth, 'Gardens, Houses and the Rhetoric of Description in the English Novel', p. 403.

³⁸ J. Nash, *Mansions of England in the Olden Time*, 1st series (London: T McLean, 1839).

mechanism of nostalgia', but this could be understood in the context of distancing from contemporary issues into the supposed paradise of a former age.³⁹

The most direct political comment in house depictions can be seen in the use of overt symbolic imagery. The obvious example of this is at Stowe, where the Temple of British Worthies features figures revered by the Whigs, such as Inigo Jones, Sir Thomas Gresham and John Locke.⁴⁰ It has been theorised that 'civic virtue of the trade and financier' is often highlighted as a Whig response to Tory criticisms of trade; this can also be done by presenting the estate for profit as well as for pleasure.⁴¹ Agricultural labour might therefore be depicted within the overall harmony of the country estate, thriving in the verdant fertility around. Trees, as the frame set around many such themes, act as a potent signifier in themselves. The evergreen can be seen as a symbol of Englishness and of continuity, and also has a more direct political significance in the context of the wanton felling of trees in the interregnum which was cited by Royalist propagandists.⁴² This hypothesis implies a hidden agenda in the description of the country house in the contemporary literature; this thesis will address such questions through the text and illustrations of the guidebook.

McClung added to the discussion of the justification of the country house by citing the use of the family as a cultural icon.⁴³ The emphasis on genealogy, the presence of, or allusion to the family, adds an element of entitlement to a superior status in the representation of a country estate. Such an emphasis can be used to highlight the link between the aristocracy and the land, and as Girouard stated with reference to the declining powers of the monarchy: 'property became the basis and justification of Government'.⁴⁴ The advent of country house visiting gave what has been described as 'the illusion of inclusion' in what was arguably a more exclusionary society.⁴⁵ The negotiation between privilege and envy, between inclusion and exclusion was a fine balance which was played out on the backdrop of the country estate. The investigation

³⁹ McClung, 'The Country House in Arcadia', p.281.

⁴⁰ National Trust, *Stowe Landscape Gardens*, (London: National Trust, 2009, p.6) [1997].

⁴¹ Duckworth, 'Gardens, Houses and the Rhetoric of Description in the English Novel', p. 397.

⁴² Ibid, p. 395-413.

⁴³ McClung, 'The Country House in Arcadia', p.280.

⁴⁴ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 189.

⁴⁵ D. Arnold, 'The Country House, Form Function and Meaning', in *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, ed by D. Arnold, p.22.

of guidebooks as the marketing device of the country house is thus a valuable tool for exploring the culture and society of the long eighteenth century.

Justification to rule can be communicated not only in the fact of owning large amounts of land, and of having owned it for generations. The neatly maintained and well-ordered estate is often shown as harmonious in the composition of the scene as an organic whole; this indicates productivity, but also highlights the presence of good governance. One method of indicating harmony was in the depiction of the industrious activity of well-governed menials juxtaposed in concord with the elite at leisure, who epitomise elegance and taste. Such a display can, in addition to showing credentials for governance, be intended as an educational model. This might also apply to images of a house interior, in which the judicious collecting activities and refined taste of the owner can be seen to great effect. This issue is one aspect of the creation and representation of identity by an aristocratic landowner as seen in country house depictions. It is especially relevant in cases where the owner has either written or had significant input into a book about his house that this volume should then reflect how he wishes to be seen in the world. If the country house guidebook can be seen as a manifesto for, and justification of, aristocracy, then it would have been important also to establish the personal aristocratic credentials of the owner, and these included good taste.

Arnold has emphasised the use of the guidebook for the justification of the country estate by packaging architecture as heritage.⁴⁶ She further stated that the guidebook continues in its role 'of perpetuating myths and the hegemony of the ruling elite'.⁴⁷ In view of the several authors who have written about the country house as a potent symbol of worth, and the guidebook as a nuanced representation of the *status quo*, it is surprising to discover that very little has been written to analyse the contents of the guidebook. This is particularly the case for the period under question.

Contents of guidebooks

In the small amount of literature that does address the contents of country house guidebooks, there has been a focus on their potential as an objective record. Simon Jervis has surveyed the number of guidebooks which mention furniture in their text, and

⁴⁶ Arnold, *Reading Architectural History*, p. 182.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

has listed these instances from the perspective of a furniture historian.⁴⁸ Clive Wainwright has looked at some guides for romanticised properties to enable a greater insight into how the sense of history was created or recreated in such houses.⁴⁹ Adrian Tinniswood wrote of the Romantic obsession in the early nineteenth century, with a keenness for ‘indulging in that pleasing melancholy musing’.⁵⁰ He linked the interest to ‘myths of merry England with a strictly ordered society and its chivalric code of values’.⁵¹ Mandler wrote of the period from 1815 as a revolution in cultural ideas with the emergence of ideas about the ‘Olden Time’.⁵² Whilst the literature has described ways of creating or embellishing a sense of the ‘Olden Time’ in the country house interior, and the interest by the viewer in this phenomenon has been described and examined, the ways in which such ‘Olden Time’ interiors were represented in illustrations has received less attention. Questions arise about the motivations of the house owners in creating such interiors, an issue which Wainwright is open about avoiding. The ways in which the guidebook depicting them might be used by the owner has similarly not been addressed in the literature.

A recent journal article does address one aspect of the contents of guidebooks and has also noted the lack of attention in the literature to early country house guidebooks. The author, Jocelyn Anderson, examined some examples of country house routes and plans within guidebooks, which, she argued, created a new concept of the house for display, and gave information on one hand, whilst simultaneously reminding the visitor of areas from which he is excluded.⁵³ Another recent publication has also commented on the lack of focus in the literature on country house guidebooks, a gap in the literature which will be addressed in this thesis.⁵⁴

County guides and Views of Seats

In parallel with the emergence of the country house guidebook, there were other

⁴⁸ S.S. Jervis, ‘Furniture in Eighteenth-Century Country House Guides’, *Furniture History*, Vol. XLII (2006), pp. 63-152.

⁴⁹ C. Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior: The British Collector at Home 1750-1850*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1989).

⁵⁰ Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist*, p.122.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁵² Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, p. 22.

⁵³ J. Anderson, ‘Remaking the Space: the Plan and the Route in Country House Guidebooks from 1770 to 1815’, *Architectural History*, vol. 54, 2011, pp. 195-212.

⁵⁴ Arnold, *Reading Architectural History*.

publications which featured depictions of the country house. Periodicals such as the *Gentleman's Magazine* which began in 1731 included references to events at country houses or aspects of historical interest relating to them; occasionally there would be an illustration. There were also a few series of views of seats, such as William Watts's *Seats of the Nobility and Gentry* which was initially available by subscription.⁵⁵ This was followed by several other similar publications including Richard Havell's *Noblemens' and Gentlemens' Seats*, and the hugely successful series by John Preston Neale which capitalised both on the fascination for the country house and the desire of property owners to see their house featured in a flattering way.⁵⁶ Later series responded to the interest in the 'Olden Time' with views of the ancient seats of the nobility: Joseph Nash's series *Mansions of England in the Olden Time* was one of the first, to be followed by several others such as *Baronial Hall and Picturesque Edifices*.⁵⁷ Slightly later still, Bernard Burke catered for both ancient and more modern architectural tastes with his *Visitation of Seats*.⁵⁸

The eighteenth to nineteenth centuries also saw the publication of many county guides, such as Phillip Morant's *Essex* in 1768, and John Britton's *Beauties of Wiltshire* in 1801.⁵⁹ Books such as these aimed at highlighting the glories of the county, and this sometimes included some illustrations of the seats of the aristocracy and gentry. Other publications focussed mainly on these residences, such as Edmund Butcher's *Sidmouth Scenery, or Views of the Principal Cottages and Residences of the Nobility and Gentry*.⁶⁰ Further publications made the gentleman's seat the sole focus of their county descriptions, such as Prosser's *Surrey Seats*.⁶¹

Tim Clayton has discussed the proliferation of views of seats in the period, both

⁵⁵ W. Watts, *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry In a Collection of the most interesting and Picturesque Views engraved by W. Watts, from Drawings by the Most eminent Artists with a Description of each View*, (London: W. Watts, 1779).

⁵⁶ R. Havell, *Picturesque Views of Gentlemens' and Noblemens' Seats*, (London, 1814-23); J.P. Neale, *Views of Seats*, 11 volumes, 2 series, (London: Sherwood, Neale & Jones, 1819-1823).

⁵⁷ Nash, *Mansions of England in the Olden Time*, & S.C. Hall, *The Baronial Halls, Picturesque Edifices and Ancient Churches of England from drawings by J.D. Harding, C. Cattermole, S. Prout, W. Muller, J. Holland and other Eminent Artists*, 3 Vols, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1846-7).

⁵⁸ B. Burke, *Visitation of Seats*, (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1852-5).

⁵⁹ P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, Vol. II, (London, 1768); J. Britton, *Beauties of Wiltshire*, 2 vols (London: Vernor & Hood, 1801).

⁶⁰ E. Butcher, *Sidmouth Scenery, or Views of the Principal Cottages and Residences of the Nobility and Gentry, with a Description of that Admired Watering Place and Environs of Fifteen Miles Around*, (Sidmouth: John Wallis, 1816).

⁶¹ G.F. Prosser, *Surrey Seats*, (London: Engelmann, 1828).

singly and in volumes, such as those just described. He listed three potential reasons to explain this interest.⁶² Firstly he cited the issue of patriotic rivalry, and the attempt to assert that English architecture was at least as good, or better than, that abroad. Secondly he theorised the developing interest in architecture during the eighteenth century, both as objects to view and to discuss. This interest even extended for some members of the aristocracy to an amateur pastime, and even to the architectural design of their own country seat. Thirdly he cited the competition between counties, and he wrote that ‘particular pressure was placed upon owners to defend both their status in local society and the prestige for their county’.⁶³ These potential reasons for depicting the country house were supplemented by the context described by Arnold, of an elite at pains to justify their existence amongst variable social discontent.⁶⁴

Although individual country house guidebooks, views of seats and county histories were published during the same period, these overlapping genres have not been compared in the literature. There are thus several unanswered questions, such as which came first, and whether the publication of an individual guidebook prompted the inclusion of the property in a county guide, or whether the reverse was the case. In addition to questions about sequence of publication, the following research will address the issue of the differences between these varying sorts of representation.

Overview

It has been seen from the review of the limited literature on country house guidebooks, that little is known about the guidebook genre; this thesis will start to fill this gap in the literature. A further search of guidebooks in the period will build on Harris’s survey of the genre, and inspection of these will allow conclusions to be made about the physical nature of the books. Analysis of the geographical distribution and date spread of the books will allow greater understanding of the limits and extents of the phenomenon. The authors of these books have not been looked at in the literature, but the suggestion that one or two owners wrote their own guidebooks, such as Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill, leads to questions around the issues of motivation and content. The

⁶² Clayton, *Publishing Houses*, pp. 43-60.

⁶³ Clayton, *Publishing Houses*, p. 48.

⁶⁴ Arnold, *Reading Architectural History*.

following research will show that such owner-writers were more common than has been acknowledged so far. This existence of owner-authored guidebooks leads to the insight that the content is likely to have more personal resonance with implications for the persona he wished to convey. The eighteenth century has been argued in the literature as a revolution in the concept of personal identity, and a move towards a greater sense of interiority.⁶⁵ Tom Williamson has stated that gardens were an ideal arena in which this new individualistic trend could be expressed.⁶⁶ It will be argued, through analysis of the content of individual books about country houses, that an interior view or exterior landscape of a house can be seen as a personal portrait of the owner and as an expression of his wider identity. This research will explore the hypothesis that the owner, where he has some involvement in the production of the book, has sought to represent certain aspects of himself through the publication, and perhaps to suppress other aspects. In order to explore this idea more fully, an analysis of the whole sample of data relating to guidebooks will be followed by research into four houses, their owners and their guidebooks which will be presented as case studies. Comparisons with other forms of depiction of the country seat will help conclusions to be formed about the role of the guidebook.

This thesis will add to the existing literature in a few ways. Firstly, the research will update the surveys of country house guides that exist in the period, and will plot the peaks of the genre, and the nature of the books. Secondly, the contents of these books have not been examined in detail, and in particular the illustrations will be analysed. The approach in this thesis will differ from the existing literature by focusing not on the tourist industry and on the reception of the houses by the visitors, but rather by focusing on the identity of the owner and the details behind the production of the books, their commission and use. In many cases, as has been suggested in previous studies, these books were not aimed at the tourist market, but had a different readership in mind. The potential of the country house guidebook as a biography and portrait not only of the house, but also of the owner, will be explored. Finally the representation of the country house in individual guidebooks will be compared to depictions which began to appear in other sorts of publications such as series of views and county guides.

⁶⁵ D. Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006).

⁶⁶ Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 66.

Chapter One: the Country House Guidebook 1720-1845

Introduction

There is perhaps no class of dwellings so pleasing as the rural seats of the English Gentry. In the Parks and Pleasure Grounds, nature, - dressed yet not disguised by art, - wears her most alluring form. In the buildings, good sense and good taste combine to produce a happy union of the comfortable and the graceful. The Pictures, - the musical instruments, - the library, -- would in any other country, be considered as proving the owner to be an eminently polished and accomplished man.⁶⁷

Thomas Babington Macaulay thus described his perception of the country estate in 1849 as an overt representation of the values and worth of the owner. In a later edition of the guidebook to the ‘marbles’ at Ammerdown House, a property near Bath owned by John Tywford Jolliffe, the anonymous author cited this piece of text in a self-conscious justification of the country estate; as the opening paragraph of this book, it was also an explanation of its publication.⁶⁸ Later in the guidebook there is a poem which glorifies Ammerdown, and ends with the following words about the productivity of the landscape there:

Wealth, thus employed, is Heaven’s peculiar store,
To bless the rich, and aid th’industrious poor.⁶⁹

The catalogue to the collection at Ammerdown, was thus being contextualised within an argument about the positive impact of the estate; it was not simply an objective record of house contents, but a document which served to ‘re-brand’ the estate as valuable. It was high status and tasteful, but it was also of value within the wider community and could ‘aid th’industrious poor’; both of these advantages were attributed to the owner as much as to the estate. This example shows the potential for the guidebook not only to inform the visitor, but as a representation of the *status quo*, and as a piece of marketing of the landed elite. That many of these books, it will be seen, were not produced for

⁶⁷ T.B. Macaulay, *History of England from the Accession of James II*, (Boston: Phillips, Samson & Company, 1849), p. 248.

⁶⁸ *Description of the Mansion, Marbles and Pictures at Ammerdown, in Somersetshire*, 2nd edn, (Bath: S. Hayward, c. 1849), p.1, for a description of the owners and history of Ammerdown see: B. Little & A. Aldrich, *Ammerdown: The House and the Centre*, (Bath: published for the Governors of the Ammerdown Study Centre, 1977) & N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: North Somerset and Bristol*, (New Haven & London: Yale, 2002), [1958].

⁶⁹ *Description of the Mansion, Marbles and Pictures at Ammerdown*, pp. 4-5.

the tourist market at all, emphasises the varied agendas that were involved in their publication.

Country house guides: the research data

The research in this thesis involved tracking down individual books written about country houses from 1720 until 1845; all of the books in this research sample are listed in the appendix. The date of 1720 was chosen because before then only the occasional book had been written, and these consisted mainly of collections of architectural plans or views; it represents the date when books started to be published about individual houses more regularly. The end date of 1845 was chosen because the beginning of the Victorian era has been seen as the time when country house visiting slowed down, and the market for books about country houses dwindled.⁷⁰ The date was extended slightly into the Victorian era to allow for the spike in new guidebook publications in the decade before 1845 that was found in this research data.

The search for publications in this study took John Harris's index of country house guides as a starting point, as well as Michael Holmes's index of country houses.⁷¹ The remainder were found by a combination of secondary source bibliographies and searches of online library catalogues. Many guidebooks were reviewed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, whose publication spans the date parameters of this research; consultation of these reviews supplied some extra book titles. All of the guidebooks in this study were located and viewed: this involved visits to the British Library, The Society of Antiquaries Library, The Bodleian Library, the library at the Canadian Centre of Architecture in Montreal and a variety of other archives, records offices and in some cases the archives of the country house itself. Inspection of the original books allowed an understanding of them as objects and artefacts in their own right, as well as giving a clear view of their content. In some cases, dedications, marginalia and inscriptions made on the books, added further information about a book's use.

Undoubtedly, the search for guidebooks in this study did not find all that were published in the period; in addition, especially given that there were often limited print

⁷⁰ Harris, 'The Guide in Hand', pp. 1200-1202.

⁷¹ J. Harris, *A Country House Index*, (Isle of Wight: Pinhorns, 1971) & M. Holmes, *The Country House Described: An Index to the Country Houses of Great Britain and Ireland*, (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1986).

runs, in some cases there will be no currently existing copies. In spite of this, the research yielded more guidebooks than has been acknowledged for the period: it was found that 103 houses had at least one individual book dedicated to the house alone. Not counting re-editions of the same book, 152 guidebooks were located in total. This consolidates and supplements Harris's *A Country House Index* which lists 73 houses which had a guidebook according to the parameters stated earlier, and the 63 houses in Holmes's index of the literature on individual country houses held at the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁷²

This extensive sample included only published books which described the exterior, interior or collections of an individual country house belonging to a member of the aristocracy, gentry, or in some cases, the professional classes. The sample did not include Royal Palaces, uninhabitable ruins or houses in central London. This restriction enabled the books to be seen as documents representing the affluent owners of country estates; there would have been overlapping but also different issues with royal and metropolitan identity.

The very inclusivity of so many properties and their guides has some potential pitfalls that need to be considered; the range of house from large aristocratic seat to suburban villa leads to a very diverse sample. The books themselves represent a range of different sorts of publications from simple catalogues to fully descriptive, illustrated summaries of the house, its history and its collections. There is also a restriction in the sample, however, to include only those extant guides that are listed in library or archive catalogues. This leads to a potential bias towards the larger and better known estates: it is probable that the less well known properties might potentially have had smaller print runs or have been less widely promoted and so be harder to find if they do still exist.

The book as a physical object

The physical size and weight of many of these volumes raises questions about their portability, cost and intended market. Of the 152 guidebooks, 73 were easily portable, that is to say roughly octavo-sized but less than quarto. Of the remaining books, 23 were medium-sized, that is to say in the region of quarto or larger, whilst the other 55 books were large to very large, being in the region of folio or larger. Certainly the 55

⁷² Harris, *A Country House Index*, 1971 & Holmes, *The Country House Described*, 1986.

folio books, and probably also the 23 quarto books, which were also quite heavy, were not designed to accompany a visitor on a tour around the house; they would have been intended as a souvenir following a visit, or as luxury additions to the library of other country houses.⁷³ In keeping with the latter use, many of the larger guides were lavish, leather-bound productions (figure 1). Adrian Tinniswood has already pointed to the potential use of some guidebooks for the ‘discerning dilettante’ rather than for the casual tourist, and Harris has discussed the huge size of Bridgeman’s *General Plan* of Stowe as too large for the tourist.⁷⁴ The 55 huge folio volumes in this data are a significant number; the presence of so many large guides in the period has not yet been acknowledged in the literature.

The cost of the books in the sample as a whole varied in correlation with their size and quality. One to two shillings would have been an average price for the cheaper tourist guides. This can be considered in the context of a loaf of bread which peaked in cost in the 1810s at a shilling, but which would have cost between five and ten pence in the decades before and after.⁷⁵ The guide to the mausoleum at Brocklesby Park was a similar price to a loaf of bread at 9d.⁷⁶ A common price for guides was 2 shillings and 6d; this was the cost of guides to Blenheim, Forde Abbey and Goodwood.⁷⁷ There was occasionally a variation in cost between different versions, for example Rayner’s guide to Haddon Hall could be bought for 5 shillings, 7 shillings and 6 pence or 10 shillings

⁷³ See appendix.

⁷⁴ Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist*, p. 99, [1989] & J. Harris ‘English Country House Guides’, p. 63; for information on Stowe see N. Pevsner & E. Williamson, *Pevsner Architectural Guide: Buckinghamshire*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 660-687, [N. Pevsner, 1960].

⁷⁵ C. Emsley, T. Hitchcock and R. Shoemaker, ‘London History - Currency, Coinage and the Cost of Living’, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* at: www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, [accessed 14 April 2014].

⁷⁶ T. Espin, *A Description of the Mausoleum at Brocklesby Park, Lincolnshire*, (Boston, 1812); For details of Brocklesby Park see: N. Pevsner, J. Harris & N. Antram, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Lincolnshire*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1989), pp.188-191.

⁷⁷ W.F. Mavor, *A New Description of Blenheim: A new and improved edition Embellished with an elegant plan, etc* (London: T. Cadell, 1793); F.H. Tomlinson, *A visit to Ford Abbey, describing the history, paintings and antiquities, of that celebrated monastery*, (London, 1825); D.A. Jacques, *Visit to Goodwood, the Seat of the Duke of Richmond With an appendix descriptive of an ancient painting LP*, (Chichester, 1822); details of Blenheim Palace in: J. Sherwood & N. Pevsner, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Oxfordshire*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 459-475; details of Forde Abbey in: *Forde Abbey: 850 Years of History* (Poole: Broglia Press, 2003); details of Goodwood House in: I. Nairn & N. Pevsner, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Sussex*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 227-230, [1965] & R. Baird, *Goodwood: Art, Architecture, Sport and Family*, (London: Frances Lincoln, 2007).

depending on the size.⁷⁸ Some of the more lavish volumes could be purchased for £1 or more. This would have been out of the range of the average person, with a low artisan's wage being around £15 *per annum*, and probably also the 'middling sort' who would earn about £100 *per annum*.⁷⁹ Bickham's guide to Stowe was available for 1 guinea plain, or 2 guineas for a coloured version.⁸⁰ The much later guide to Berkeley Castle was offered at £1 and 1 shilling for subscribers to the book (1 guinea), but at an extra 4 shillings for non-subscribers.⁸¹ Many of the guidebooks were not on public sale at all, however, and were produced as a record for the owner and as a souvenir for friends or as a diplomatic gift. An example is the guide to Ashridge, which John William, 7th Earl of Bridgewater commissioned of Henry Todd, whom he had taken on as Chaplain in 1803.⁸² Both men shared antiquarian interests, and the Earl was keen to have a record of the history and status of his newly-constructed house on the site of former Ashridge Priory, a college of the monastic order of Bonhommes.⁸³ It was a lavish folio volume which, according to John Britton, cost the Earl the huge sum of £5000 to produce about 70 copies.⁸⁴

Occasionally a comment in the book adds more evidence: in the dedication of the *Museum Worsleyanum*, a huge high status production of engravings of marbles commissioned by the owner Sir Richard Worsley of Appuldurcombe on the Isle of

⁷⁸ S. Rayner, *The History and Antiquities of Haddon Hall, illustrated by 32 highly finished drawings with an account of the hall in its present state*, (Derby: Robert Mosely, 1836); details of Haddon Hall in: N. Pevsner & E. Williamson, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Derbyshire*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 221-229, [1978].

⁷⁹ Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, 'London History - Currency, Coinage and the Cost of Living'.

⁸⁰ G. Bickham, *The Beauties of Stow, or a Description of the most noble house, gardens and magnificent buildings therein With above thirty copper plates two views of the house, and a curious general plan of the whole gardens*, (London: G. Bickham, 1753); details of the house in: N. Pevsner & E. Williamson, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Buckinghamshire*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 660-87.

⁸¹ H. Marklove, *Views of Berkeley Castle Taken on the spot, and drawn on stone, by Mr H Marklove*, (Bristol: Nailsworth, 1840); details of Berkeley Castle in: D. Verey & A. Brooks, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Gloucester 2: The Vale and the Forest of Dean*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 176-183.

⁸² D.A. Brunton, 'Henry John Todd', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27489> [accessed 12.12.13] & H. Todd, *The History of the College of Bonhommes, at Ashridge, in the County of Buckingham, founded in the year 1276, by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall Compiled from original records To which is added, a description of the present Mansion erected on the site of the ancient college*, (Privately Printed, 1823).

⁸³ Details of the house in: K.N. Sanecki, *Ashridge: A Living History*, (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1996).

⁸⁴ J. Britton, *Graphic illustrations, with historical and descriptive accounts of Toddington*, (1840, p. xiii); details of Toddington Hall in: D. Verey & A. Brooks, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Gloucester 2: The Vale and the Forest of Dean*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 767-70.

Wight before his death, it is noted that it was published ‘for private distribution among his Friends’.⁸⁵ In another large guide, *The History of Audley End*, the owner-author Lord Braybrooke included a letter with the copy he sent to the British Museum which emphasised that only 50 copies of the book were printed, and that they were ‘for private distribution only’.⁸⁶ It was not only the large books which were limited in number: the guide to Lee Priory published in 1817, and written by the owner of this house, was a small book of just over octavo in size, had only 60 copies made, with 20 of these for private distribution.⁸⁷ Even more limited in number was Thomas Crofton Croker’s guide to his property ‘Rosamond’s Bower’, which was restricted to a number run of only 15.⁸⁸ He stressed in the introduction that copies were only intended for members of the ‘Noviomagian Society’ of which he was one; this was a small circle of gentlemen from the Society of Antiquaries who met for dinners and historical visits. The production was in several parts, and in the first volume he addressed those to whom it is presented, stating that they: ‘are requested carefully to preserve the Part now given to them, as it probably cannot be replaced, and every one to whom a copy is now presented are to consider themselves entitled to receive the remaining parts from T. Crofton Croker.’⁸⁹ This specific motivation for writing a guide points to the wider impact of the increasing interest in antiquarianism in the period. Founded in 1717, the Society of Antiquaries are likely to have had a wider influence on the publication of guidebooks, though their promotion of the study of antiquities.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ R. Worsley, *Museum Worsleyanum or a Collection of Antique Basso Relievos, Bustos, Statues, and Gems with views of Places in the Levant taken on the spot in the years 1785-6 and 7 [With descriptions]*, (Privately Printed 1794); details of Appuldurcombe House in: D.W. Lloyd & N. Pevsner, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Isle of Wight*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 65-73, [1967].

⁸⁶ R. Griffin, Lord Braybrooke, *The History of Audley End, to which are added notices of the parish and town of Saffron Walden in the county of Essex* (London: Samuel Bentley, 1836); details of the house in: N. Pevsner & E. Radcliffe, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Buckinghamshire*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 61-66, [1954].

⁸⁷ T. Barrett Brydges, *List of Pictures at the Seat of T B Brydges Barrett, Esq at Lee Priory Kent*, (Privately printed, 1817); details of the house, now demolished, at website of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London at: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O55927/the-strawberry-room-panelled-room-wyatt-james/> [accessed 22.04.2014].

⁸⁸ T.C. Croker, *A Description of Rosamond's Bower, Fulham the residence of T C Croker With an inventory of the pictures, furniture, curiosities, etc.* (London: Published for Private Circulation, 1843).

⁸⁹ Croker, *A Description of Rosamond's Bower*.

⁹⁰ L. Peltz & M. Myrone, ‘Mine are the subjects rejected by the historian’: antiquarianism, history and the making of modern culture’, in M. Myrone & L. Peltz (eds), *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700-1850*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1999), pp. 1-12.

Another small volume that was also initially printed for private distribution only was the guide to Thomas Fish's 'cottage ornée', Knowle Cottage in Sidmouth, Devon.⁹¹ In the copy which is held at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, a hand-written message in the inside cover recorded that this particular copy was: 'presented by Mr Fish to Mrs E. Wolfe November 24th, 1848'.⁹² As the book was published nine years earlier, it would suggest that Thomas Fish kept a supply of the book to give as gifts. A handwritten note in the small-sized British Library copy of a guide for Lacock Abbey published in 1806 also notes that it was printed privately and not for sale.⁹³

The Guidebook: date, content and form

Examination of the spread of guidebooks by date provides additional useful information. Previous estimates of the number of early guidebooks have varied: one estimate stated that the genre consisted of a handful of books; a later estimate suggested there were about 2 dozen publications before 1810, preceding a decline in tourism at some point during the nineteenth century.⁹⁴ The data presented in this thesis shows that there were 36 properties which had a guidebook by 1810, which does not count the multiple different publications for some properties such as Wilton House and Stowe.⁹⁵ In this early period of the sample these were split between types of guide. The big estates of Houghton and Holkham each had plans and elevations published, and a further 14 properties, starting with Strawberry Hill in 1774, had guides to the interior of the house. 10 properties had a catalogue to the collections published, although these often included some additional information in the form of an illustration of the property or a list of the rooms. The guide to Warwick Castle focused on family history, whilst the remaining 9 guides, beginning with Josiah Diston's guide to his own house in 1720, focused on the gardens: included in this group were the popular pleasure gardens at

⁹¹ See B. Cherry & N. Pevsner, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Devon*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004), p.237, [1952].

⁹² J. Harvey, *Guide to illustrations and views of Knowle Cottage, Sidmouth; the marine villa orné of T. L. Fish*, (Sidmouth, J. Harvey, c. 1837).

⁹³ G. Witham, *The History of Lacock Abbey, or Locus Beatae Mariae From Dugdale, Stevens &c, with additions on the present state of the Abbey* (1806); details of Lacock Abbey in: B. Cherry & N. Pevsner, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Wiltshire*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 284-9, [1952].

⁹⁴ Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, p.10.

⁹⁵ For details of Wilton House see: N. Pevsner & B. Cherry, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Wiltshire*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 580-6.

Stowe, Hagley and Hawkstone.

The date at which each of the houses gained their first guide can be seen in graph for per decade; although the current sample stops in 1845, an overview of new publications to 1895 allows a clearer representation of the peaks and declines in the genre (figure 2), especially relevant as it has been asserted that ‘the Victorian country house guide did not exist’.⁹⁶ The largest peak in properties gaining a guidebook for the first time is 1835-1845, after which the phenomenon declines rapidly. Although there is a brief slight resurgence in the later decades of the nineteenth century with 16 new guidebooks for the years 1885-95, the same as the decade 1825-1835, the type of guidebook being published then was much more likely to be a simple catalogue or house description. The trend for the huge, lavish folio volumes had fallen out of fashion, as commented on by John Britton in his review of the guidebook genre in his folio-sized guide to Toddington⁹⁷:

In the “Vitruvius” is displayed the accomplished architect and judicious critic. I regret that it comprehends only accounts and illustrations of four mansions.....Its size and price are obstacles to popularity: for the present is an age of cheap literature and cheap embellishment. Large books of high prices are out of fashion.⁹⁸

This apparent trend preceded the decline in country house visiting, which has been said to have reached a peak in the mid-nineteenth century, followed by a steady decline from the 1880s.⁹⁹ The figures are in line with Harris’s assertion of the disappearance of the genre in the Victorian era, a statement which he elaborated upon to concede that some catalogues to art collections were published.¹⁰⁰

Of the 152 guidebooks examined, 39 were in the form of a catalogue of the collections of either the paintings, or the sculpture or both; in a couple of cases, it was the library that was catalogued. This did not necessarily mean there was no description of the house at all: invariably the rooms were at least listed, and in some cases there was an illustration of the house, usually the exterior, but sometimes also the interior.

⁹⁶ Harris, ‘English Country House Guides, 1740-1840’, pp. 58-74.

⁹⁷ For details of Toddington House see: D. Verey & Alan Brooks, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Gloucestershire 2, the Vale and Forest of Dean*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 767-770, [1970].

⁹⁸ J. Britton, *Graphic illustrations, with historical and descriptive accounts of Toddington*, (London, 1840), p. XIV, N.B. he refers to the later Vitruvius by Peter Robinson.

⁹⁹ Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, p. 76.

¹⁰⁰ Harris, ‘English Country House Guides, 1740-1840’, p. 69.

Around two thirds of the guidebooks, that is 103 in total, had at least one illustration, and 60 of these contained staffage in scenes of the house or grounds. Some of these illustrations show workers on the estate as well as members of the more leisured classes; 24 of the illustrations with staffage feature servants or estate workers. Ann Laurence has established that when working class figures do occur in topographical illustrations, they rarely occupy the same space as the nobler figures, and she concludes that property owners seem to wish to be associated with the fruits of their wealth, but not with the means of acquiring it.¹⁰¹ The very presence of the workers within the image could more likely be seen as a promotional and potentially didactic statement: workers and nobility alike can exist in the harmony of a well-ordered estate with each person in their place. In the illustrations of the books in this research sample, there were several occurrences of classes occupying the same space, but this was almost always in the context of a servant providing a service or offering deference. Thus the illustrations in guidebooks, whilst conveying a sense of a well-ordered estate, also served to maintain the *status quo* of the wider world.

The country estate can therefore be seen as a convenient stage on which to represent this *status quo*, and the guidebook as a means of representing and disseminating the message. The late eighteenth century onwards has been seen as a period when new spaces were emerging as sites for social mingling, and there has been a debate about the performative potential of such spaces. Frans de Bruyn argues that when Edmund Burke made heavy use of the metaphor of theatre, when writing about the French Revolution, there was an existing context for the choice of metaphor in Joseph Addison's *Spectator*.¹⁰² In issue number 219, Addison wrote that the world is like 'a Theatre, where everyone has a part allotted to him'.¹⁰³ The concept of theatre was in fact richly embedded in eighteenth-century culture and the theatre itself was gradually becoming a less bawdy and more socially acceptable venue for entertainment.¹⁰⁴ Paul Goring has discussed the theory of acting as an emergent popular genre during the period, and has highlighted the use of the human body in displays of

¹⁰¹ A. Laurence, 'Space, Status and Gender in Topographical Prints c.1660-1740', *Architectural History*, Vol. 46 (2003), pp. 81-94.

¹⁰² F. De Bruyn, *The Literary Genres of Edmund Burke: The Political Uses of Literary Form*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 165-208.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p.194.

¹⁰⁴ J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth-Century*, (The Bath Press, 1997), pp. 165-208.

politeness in the arenas of oratory, the theatre and the novel.¹⁰⁵ It is not a great stretch of the imagination to see the pleasure gardens at Vauxhall as a similar vehicle for the demonstration of genteel behaviour: there, there was a variety of types of performance such as music, juggling and tight-rope walking.¹⁰⁶ In addition, however, it was a place for society to mingle: to see and be seen. It has been noted, however, that the pleasure gardens also had the reputation for being slightly risqué because of the dark corners with potential for sexual misdemeanour.¹⁰⁷ By contrast, however, the country house pleasure gardens offered a more refined escape, especially as opportunities for visits became more likely as the eighteenth century progressed. The estate owner had the potential to balance or to promote a more positive city image by commissioning depictions of his country seat and associated noble pursuits. The metaphor of the theatre can be extended to this new emerging type of venue, and the guidebook can be seen as a vehicle for conveying the country house and gardens as a stage for the enactment of polite discourse and social hierarchies.

Some guidebooks did not include illustrations and instead contained textual descriptions, and the anonymous author of the guidebook for Mount Edgcumbe, a house then in Devon, made his reasons for this explicit: he wanted the reader to visit and form their own impressions.¹⁰⁸ This active engagement with the landscape is a key aspect of the ideal picturesque appreciation of nature theorised by William Gilpin.¹⁰⁹ There is also a sense of inclusion in the statement, that the extremely popular pleasure gardens were open for all: a form of justification of the estate.

The distribution of houses with guides across the country

Examination of the geographical distribution of country house guidebooks in the period

¹⁰⁵ P. Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, (Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 140.

¹⁰⁶ D. Coke & A. Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens: A History*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 291-295.

¹⁰⁷ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. 377.

¹⁰⁸ *A Walk Round Mount Edgcumbe*, (Plymouth: L. Congdon, 1812); details about Mount Edgcumbe in: B. Cherry & N. Pevsner, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Devon*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004), pp.123-4, [1952].

¹⁰⁹ S. Copley & P. Garside, *The Politics of the Picturesque*, (Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1-11, [1994].

helps to give an insight into the spread of the genre; although it seems that most country houses did not have a guidebook in the period, the exact proportion cannot be determined as the sample is likely to have omitted some examples. A simple ‘heat map’ shows where the 103 properties with guidebooks were located: the red areas show the regions of greatest density of guidebooks (figure 3). It is perhaps not surprising that the largest area of high-density is around London: this is in spite of houses in central London not being included in the sample. There is an area of high-density of guidebooks almost as large in the southwest of the country, which includes properties such as Wilton House and Stourhead.¹¹⁰ The same information can be viewed in another way, by considering which regions had the most guidebooks: a map in which the highest density regions are shown in a darker colour indicates the guidebooks phenomenon to have been dominated by the more southern counties (figure 4).

The previous two maps do not show any variation by date: in the map in figure 5, the regions with the earliest guidebooks are shown in a darker colour. Properties such as Hafod in Wales, and Holkham and Houghton in East Anglia contributed towards the early appearance of guidebooks in the furthest western and eastern counties of the country.¹¹¹ There was much regional variation, however, and a final map which marks each property in the study shows how great the spread of houses was across the country (figure 6). It can be seen from the map that there is a very slight tendency for the earlier guides to be in the southern half of the country.

It has been seen that the genre of the country house guidebook, originating mainly in the south but spreading across the country, was a phenomenon not necessarily aimed at the tourist. In many cases these were large volumes, of limited print run, and intended as gifts rather than for the open market. This leads to questions of individual motivation in their production; in many cases the guidebook was never available for sale. The presence of such books was one solution to the dilemma for the ‘culturally ambitious’ eighteenth-century country house owner which Mandler has highlighted as

¹¹⁰ Details of Wilton House in: N. Pevsner & B. Cherry, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Wiltshire*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp.494-500 & pp. 580-6, [1963].

¹¹¹ Details of Hafod in: D.S. Yerburch, *An Attempt to Depict Hafod*, (Hafod Trust, 2002); details of Holkham and Houghton in: N. Pevsner & B. Wilson, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Norfolk: Northwest and South*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 411-424 & pp. 428-436, [1962].

the need to ‘show off the booty of erudition and travel’.¹¹² He suggested the solution involved allowing visitors into the house to view the collections, and hypothesised visits by the country-house owner to neighbouring properties were made ‘to keep an eye on rivals’.¹¹³ The country house guidebook not only served as assistance for visitors, but could be bought by or gifted to those who had not visited, thus transmitting information further afield. Similarly the country-house owner could check on the collections, interiors and architecture of his neighbour by careful reference to the guide, and comparisons could be made. The gift of the country house guidebook was therefore not just a gesture of friendship, but a politically-charged statement of personal worth, and a claim to a place in the social and cultural hierarchy. This is consistent with Marcel Mauss’s theory of the complex nature of duty and reciprocity involved in the process of gift exchange.¹¹⁴ Mauss argued that gifts are not free from expectation by the giver, and that the receipt of a gift creates a debt of duty. He argued that the exchange of gifts, which serve an extensive and ritualistic purpose, create a permanent tie between giver and receiver. In line with this argument, the gift of a country house guidebook was part of the web of interactions and networks of country house owners, and was a key element not only in the formation of such links, but in the construction of relations between house owners, which could be both neighbourly and competitive.

The country house guidebook did not just make a statement to those of similar worth in the societal hierarchy, however. Eighteenth-century political theorist and philosopher Edmund Burke held the view that to avoid the misfortune of the French aristocracy, their English counterparts and the country house needed to stand as a ‘natural rampart’, towering over society.¹¹⁵ The guidebook could act as a clear indicator and reminder of this place at the head of society, and country house owners could thus assert their place in the hierarchy of society.

The networks of influence between country house owners

It is interesting to note amongst the more historically motivated publications, a

¹¹² Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, p. 8.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

¹¹⁴ M. Mauss, *The Gift*, (London: Routledge, 1990) [1950].

¹¹⁵ Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, p. 15 & E. Burke, ‘Reflections on the Revolution in France’, in J. Morley, (ed.), *Works of Edmund Burke*, Vol. V, (London: Macmillan & co., 1888), pp.105-8.

network of connections between historians, sometimes between authors, can be seen in operation. Richard Griffin, Lord Braybrooke, of Audley End, acknowledged the help of his friend John Gage, who had recently published a guide to his late brother's house, Hengrave Hall, in Suffolk.¹¹⁶ Similarly Henry Blundell was friends with Charles Townley, who had published a book on his London collection and few years earlier, and Blundell expressed gratitude for his help in his guide to the collections at his property of Ince Blundell.¹¹⁷

Examination of the subscribers' lists in several of the books can enable some assumptions about the influence between property owners on the publication of guides, and there are several examples of property owners who subscribed to the guides of others before producing their own. Earl de Grey of Toddington was a subscriber to the work on Cassiobury Park in 1837 before the publication of a guide to Toddington in 1840 by the same author, John Britton.¹¹⁸ The author himself subscribed to the Great Chalfield guide of 1837.¹¹⁹ Earl de Grey's subscription to the Cassiobury guide demonstrates that, although the Toddington guide was authored by John Britton, who wrote several books on country houses and on county history, the owner of the property was also interested in such accounts in advance, and perhaps this interest made him more amenable to a guide being written about his property. In turn Jesse Watts Russell subscribed to the Toddington guide before the later publication of a catalogue for the

¹¹⁶ R. Griffin, Lord Braybrooke, *The History of Audley End*, preface; Gage, John, *The history and antiquities of Hengrave, in Suffolk*, (London: J Carpenter, J. Booker; Bury St Edmonds: J. Deck, 1822); details of Hengrave Hall in: N. Pevsner & E. Radcliffe, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Suffolk*, (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 262-4, [1961].

¹¹⁷ H. Blundell, *Engravings and Etchings of the Principal Statues, Busts, Bass-Reliefs, Sepulchral Monuments, Cinerary Urns &c in the collection of Henry Blundell Esq at Ince*, 2 vols (Liverpool, 1803, 1809); Charles Townley, *a draft catalogue of sculptures at Park Street, Westminster*, (1802-3), British Museum website at: [www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/archives/c/charles_townley,_a_draft_catal.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/archives/c/charles_townley/_a_draft_catal.aspx) [accessed 21.03.12]; details of Ince Blundell in: N. Pevsner, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: South Lancashire*, (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 128-9, [1962].

¹¹⁸ J. Britton, *The History and Description, with Graphic Illustrations, of Cassiobury Park, Hertfordshire, the seat of the Earl of Essex*, (London: The Author, 1837), subscribers; J. Britton, *Graphic illustrations, with historical and descriptive accounts of Toddington*, (London, 1840); details of Cassiobury Park in: N. Pevsner & B. Cherry, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Hertfordshire*, (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 387-8, [1953].

¹¹⁹ T.L. Walker, *The history and antiquities of the manor house and Church at Great Chalfield*, (London: Published by the author, 1837), subscribers; details of Great Chalfield House in: N. Pevsner & B. Cherry, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Wiltshire*, (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 257-9, [1963].

collection at his property Ilam House.¹²⁰

John Rutter's 1823 guide to the dramatic property at Fonthill Abbey attracted many subscribers who went on to have guides to their own properties published.¹²¹ These included the Marquess of Bath whose property at Longleat was illustrated by Mrs Pocock in 1840; the Earl Grosvenor of Eaton Hall, which had guides written in 1825 and 1826; Lord Arundell of Wardour Castle, for which a guide was published around the same time; the Duke of Bedford of Woburn Abbey, which benefitted from a few guides including a new publication about the miniatures in 1825, and the Earl of Bridgewater, of Ashridge Park which also had a guide written around the same time as Rutter's volume.¹²² Whilst it is not possible to determine the presence of direct influence of these subscriptions on the production of later guides, it does show that these property owners were interested in the concept of property guides, and that even where they were not themselves the author, that they might have commissioned the work or at least approved of it.

The subscriber was not always the property owner: at Porkington Hall, for example, the gardener received a copy of the guide to the Croome d'Abitot gardens in 1824 eleven years before the production of Porkington Hall's own guide.¹²³ Richard

¹²⁰ J.W. Russell, *A Catalogue of the Ilam Gallery 1827*, (Ashbourn, 1828).

¹²¹ J. Rutter, *Delineations of Fonthill and its Abbey*, (Shaftesbury & London, 1823); details of Fonthill Abbey in: N. Pevsner & B. Cherry, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Wiltshire*, (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 246-8, [1963].

¹²² R. Pocock, *Begin To the most Honourable John Alexander, the youthful Marquess of Bath, these views, taken from the princely Domain of Longleat, are most respectfully dedicated by R. Pocock*, (Bristol: Privately printed, c. 1840); Eaton Hall: *The Eaton Tourist, or a colloquial description of the hall, grounds, gardens, &c. at Eaton, the seat of the most honourable Earl Grosvenor*, (London, 1825); J.C. Buckler, *Views of Eaton Hall, in Cheshire, the seat of the Right Honourable Earl Grosvenor*, (London: William Clarke, 1826); Woburn Abbey: *A Catalogue of Miniature Portraits in Enamel*, (London: W. Nichol, Shakspeare Press, 1825); H.J. Todd, *The Story of the College of Bonhommes*. For details of Longleat see: N. Pevsner & B. Cherry, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Wiltshire*, (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 308-14, [1963]; for details of Eaton Hall see: N. Pevsner & E. Hubbard, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Cheshire*, (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 207-13, [1971]; for details of Woburn Abbey see: N. Pevsner, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Bedfordshire, Huntingdon and Peterborough*, (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 166-171, [1968].

¹²³ W. Dean, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of Croome d'Abitot, the seat of the Right Hon the Earl of Coventry; with biographical notices of the Coventry family: to which are annexed an Hortus Croomensis, and Observations on the propagation of exotics*, (Worcester: T. Eaton, 1824), subscribers; Porkington Hall: *Views of Porkington Hall Shropshire, from original drawings*, (1835); details of Croome D'Abitot in: N. Pevsner, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Worcestershire*, (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 125-8, [1968]; details of Porkington Hall, now known as 'Broglyntyn', in: N. Pevsner, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Shropshire*, (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 84-5, [1958].

Colt Hoare, well known for his wide-ranging historical interests, owned several guides to other properties which he kept in his collection before the publication of the guide to his own property at Stourhead: the copy of the guide to the ruins at Basing House which is held at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, for example, is inscribed as being from Colt Hoare's library.¹²⁴ He continued to collect guides after the production of his own, including those for Fonthill and Cassiobury Park. Thomas Lister Parker, historian, similarly continued his country house guide collection after publishing a guide to his own house Browsholme Hall in 1815.¹²⁵ James Kennedy's guide to Wilton House first published in 1759 would have already been in the Althorp library due to members of the family subscribing to it by the time that the subsequent heir, Earl George John Spencer, approved the Althorp guides of 1822 and 1823.¹²⁶

The reception of other people's guidebooks was not always positive, and John Britton, author of several books on country houses, was quite critical of others. In a competitive attitude he writes of Horace Walpole's guide to Strawberry Hill that although Walpole was a renowned writer of fiction, that he did not feel these talents extended to non-fiction writing: 'this voluminous and very pleasing "Noble author" wrote accounts of Houghton Hall, Norfolk and Strawberry Hill, Middlesex, but he did not display much of his usual talents on either of those subjects'.¹²⁷

The authorship of the guidebook

More detailed information of the authors of these books can help to give an insight into the motivations and circumstances which helped to stimulate their production. Several

¹²⁴ R. Colt-Hoare, *A Description of the House and Gardens at Stourhead*, 2 editions, (Salisbury, 1800, 1818); Basing House: *Aimez loyaulte : the history of Basing House, in Hampshire; containing an interesting account of the siege it sustained during the civil war; with notices of distinguished persons concerned in its transactions. To which is added Basing House; an elegy*, (Basingstoke: S. Chandler, 1815); details of Stourhead in: N. Pevsner & B. Cherry, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Wiltshire*, (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 494-500, [1963].

¹²⁵ T.L. Parker, *Description of Browsholme Hall in the West riding of the County of York and of the Parish of Waddington in the same County, and also A Collection of Letters, from original Manuscripts, in the Reigns of Charles I and II and James II in the possession of Thos. Lister Parker of Browsholme Hall, Esq.*, (London: S. Gornell, 1815); for details of Browsholme Hall see: Jervis, Simon, *Browsholme Hall, near Clitheroe, Lancashire; the Historic Home of the Parker Family, the Residence of Robert Redmayne Parker*, (Derby: English Life Publications Ltd, 1980).

¹²⁶ J. Kennedy, *A new description of the Pictures and other Curiosities at the Earl of Pembroke's House at Wilton, etc*, (London: R. Baldwin, 1764).

¹²⁷ Britton, *The History and Description, with Graphic Illustrations, of Cassiobury Park*, p. 5.

authors wrote guides to several houses: John Preston Neale, John Britton, John Rutter and Peter Frederick Robinson each wrote guides to more than one property as part of their careers as authors. Without doubt these writers would have valued their reputations too much to risk the disapproval of the property owner by publishing such a book without the owner's approval; in most cases, as with many of the guides in the sample as a whole, there was a dedication to him. This gives some indication that the owner of the property agreed to the content, and possibly in many cases had some overt input.

At least ten of the guides were in-house publications, written by a member of staff and printed privately. One example is a guide to Lacock Abbey, which a later publication refers to as 'written by the Rev. George Witham residing at Lacock as Chaplain to the dowager Countess of Shrewsbury, compiled and printed with his own hands'.¹²⁸ The authors further noted it to be 'a literary curiosity of great rarity'.¹²⁹ Lacock Abbey, a former monastery, had had its earlier Tudor or Medieval Hall replaced with a neo-Gothic design by Sanderson Miller in 1754-6.¹³⁰ Elisabeth Theresa Fox-Strangways, took over Lacock Abbey in 1800 on the death of her husband; their child Henry Fox Talbot, later to be the famous pioneer of photography, was only 5 months old.¹³¹ Lacock was in a ruinous state, and Lady Elisabeth managed to restore the estate, helped by money from her marriage to Captain Charles Feilding in 1804. The publication of the Lacock Abbey guidebook was perhaps in some ways a celebration of her achievements in the development and maintenance of the Abbey.

In addition to these publications, 22 more were written by the house owner himself with a further two by the owner's wife. 3 more guidebooks were written by a close relative of the owner, for example one of the Earl of Verulam's unmarried sisters

¹²⁸ Revd. G. Witham, *The History of Lacock Abbey or Locus Beatae Mariae from Dugdale Stevens &c With additions on the present state of the Abbey*, (Privately Printed, 1806) & Revd. W.L Bowles, & J.Gough Nichols, *Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey in Wiltshire, with memorials of the foundress Ela Countess of Salisbury and of the Earls of Salisbury of the houses of Salisbury and Longespe, including notices of the Monasteries of Bradenstoke, Hinton and Farley*, (London: John Bowyer Nichols & Son, 1835), p. 349.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ National Trust, *Lacock Abbey*, (London: National Trust, 2003), no page numbers & N. Pevsner & B. Cherry, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Wiltshire*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 284-9, [1963].

¹³¹ L.J. Schaaf, 'William Henry Fox Talbot, 1800-1877', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26946> [accessed 21.11.13].

Charlotte, who spent much of her time at Gorhambury, wrote a history of the family and property.¹³² The owner is very likely to have had some, if not considerable personal input into most of these publications. Several further books are known to have been in-house publications. Of the 22 guidebooks in the sample known to have been written by the owner himself, eight were a catalogue of the sculpture, paintings or books, whilst the remainder consisted of a more extensive description of the property as a whole; 14 of the books contained illustrations of the collections or of the house.

Almost all, if not all of the owner-authored sub-sample were not intended for a wide public. They were large volumes, and so not designed to be easily portable, with the exception of Sir Richard Colt Hoare's guide to Stourhead and Sir Thomas Phillipps's catalogue of his immense book collection.¹³³ The latter, however, is thought to have had only four copies published, and so even this was a record for himself and close friends or fellow collectors.¹³⁴ The first catalogue and description of Merly House had a limited two hundred copies published which were intended 'as presents', and the later illustrated edition was a large, lavish folio publication.¹³⁵ A note inside the British Library copy of Lord Braybrooke's guide to Audley End, details that only fifty copies were published, and that these were for private distribution only. William Cotton's guide to his property of Leatherhead Priory was restricted even further to only twenty-five copies, and Thomas Crofton Croker's guide to his property in Fulham, it has already been stated, was limited to fifteen.

Mr. Lyde Brown's guide to his property in Wimbledon (now Cannizaro House) was neither large nor so restricted in publication run, but it was nonetheless inaccessible to the average person: it was written first in Latin, with an Italian version following a

¹³² C. Grimston, *The History of Gorhambury*, (London, 1821); see N. King, *The Grimstons of Gorhambury*, (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1983), p. 92, and for details of the house: N. Pevsner & B. Cherry, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Hertfordshire*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 147-8, [1953].

¹³³ R. Colte-Hoare, *A Description of the House and Gardens at Stourhead*, 2 editions, (Salisbury, 1800, 1818); T. Phillipps, *A Catalogue of Books at Middle-Hill, Gloucestershire*, (Salisbury, printed by J.A. Gilmour, 1819).

¹³⁴ See British Library catalogue, entry for T. Phillipps, *A Catalogue of Books at Middle-Hill*, at: http://explore.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search [accessed 05.12.13].

¹³⁵ M. Vaulbert de Chantilly, *Ralph Willett, (1719-1795)*, in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29447?docPos=8> [accessed 15.06.2012].

few years later.¹³⁶ It is clear from the preceding paragraph that this smaller sub-sample of books about an individual country house or its collection were not written for the tourist or even for an interested general public. This leads to questions about the purpose and use of the large number of such books during the period which were similarly not for the tourist market.

The importance of the possession of a country estate as part of a display of power has been asserted in the literature, and the impermeability of the class boundaries in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries has been established.¹³⁷ Both of these points have been confirmed by a recent book, which also points out the subtleties involved into acceptance into the most fashionable society.¹³⁸ Acceptance in the nobility and in fashionable society involved the ownership of a country seat; this has also been established as essential for status and acceptance in high society of the period.¹³⁹ To commission a book about that property could be seen as one way of promoting its existence; to write it oneself could serve that purpose in addition to involving a display of personal learning and values. The key roles of a country estate which Lawrence Stone and Jeanne Fawtier Stone have highlighted, of the display of power, of administration, of hospitality, sport and leisure, (both in the offering leisure pursuits to noble guests and in appearing leisured) could all be emphasised in the country house guidebook. In the latter categories, Stone and Stone discuss the importance of the library: it indicated erudition on the part of the owner. They further state that ‘one of the hallmarks of a gentleman’ was a working knowledge of architectural theory.¹⁴⁰ For the owner of a country estate to write a guidebook to his own country seat therefore served several purposes: he could display his learning, knowledge and writing skill, whilst at the same time advertising his own power base with all its architectural grandeur and impressive collections, possibly bought on a Grand Tour. In addition, these books could then grace not only their own library, but those of their neighbours, associates and competitors in the jockeying for position in the hierarchy.

¹³⁶ For details of Cannizaro House see: I. Nairn & N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Surrey*, 2nd edn revised by B. Cherry, (New Haven & London, 1971), p. 525, [1962].

¹³⁷ L. Stone, & J. C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite: England 1540-1880*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), pp. 283-289, [1984].

¹³⁸ H. Grieg, *The Beau Monde*, (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 19-20.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Stone, & Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite: England 1540-1880*, p. 240.

Owner- authors: a gentlemanly distraction

It is not surprising, therefore, that several country seat owners turned to guidebook writing at a moment of personal or political hiatus in their lives. Three owner-writers, Sir Richard Colt Hoare of Stourhead, Sir Richard Worsley of Appuldurcombe and Henry Blundell of Ince Blundell, each diverted their attentions from the death or divorce of their wives by investing more time in their interests as collectors, and subsequently in writing and publishing descriptions of their properties and collections. Antiquary Sir Richard Colt Hoare had been married for only two years to Hester Lyttelton, and their son was only one year old, when she died.¹⁴¹ He never re-married, but in the same year he inherited the substantial property of Stourhead in his grandfather's will, and so gave up working for the family bank. In his memoirs he wrote of needing 'new scenes and new occupations...to detach my mind from melancholy reflections', and subsequently began extensive travels abroad, and became an even more avid collector.¹⁴² A prolific writer, one of his first published works was a description of the house and gardens at his own property, Stourhead.¹⁴³ His guide included a catalogue of paintings, and he was a significant promoter and patron of British artists. Colt Hoare is very typical of most of the owner-writers who were keen collectors with a strong interest in history. The death of his wife led to a gap which he made an overt decision to fill by travelling, collecting and writing, and he had the income (about £10,000 per annum) to be free to fulfil these passions.

Sir Richard Worsley of Appuldurcombe on the Isle of Wight was an antiquary and politician, and his passion for collecting was also stimulated by the loss of a marriage; in his case following a very public and humiliating marital separation.¹⁴⁴ Lady Worsley was notorious in society for her extra-marital affairs, rumoured to be as many as twenty-seven, and in 1788 Sir Richard formalised his separation from her. During the final acrimonious years of the marriage, Sir Richard was engaged on an extensive tour of Europe, having given up his seat in Parliament. It has been noted that 'failure in marriage had redoubled his ardour as a collector' and he collected a large

¹⁴¹ V. Hutchings, *Sir Richard Colt Hoare, second baronet, 1758-1838*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13387?docPos=1>

¹⁴² Hutchings, *Sir Richard Colt Hoare*.

¹⁴³ R. Colt Hoare, *A description of the house and gardens at Stourhead*.

¹⁴⁴ N. Aston, *Sir Richard Worsley, seventh baronet, 1751-1805*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29986> [accessed 12.08.13].

number of statues, reliefs and gems on his travels, and arranged these at his property on his return.¹⁴⁵ He catalogued them in a lavishly illustrated two-part description of his collection; these were extravagant, huge volumes which he had printed privately, and they were not intended for public sale.¹⁴⁶ Part one alone, not including binding, cost him £2,887 and 4 shillings, and was dated 1794 (but issued in 1798).¹⁴⁷ Part two came out in 1802, followed by *A Catalogue Raisonné of the principal Paintings, Sculptures, Drawings &c. &c at Appuldurcombe* in 1804. It seems as though he was able to establish a sense of academic gravitas in the wake of embarrassing events in his personal life. In common with many other collectors, and some of those described here, his passion ventured into obsession: he could not resist making more and more purchases for his collection, one of the most important of the period, and when he died in 1805 he left behind debts.

Henry Blundell was yet another collector whose activities were stimulated by the loss of a wife; in Blundell's case it might have been as much the opportunity created by new inheritance due to his wife's death as the gap left by her absence that prompted his enthusiasm for collecting. The Blundell family finances were modest until the marriage of Henry's father to Margaret Anderton; it was the death of her father without male heir in 1760 that led to Henry inheriting a fortune from his father's subsequent death in 1767.¹⁴⁸ The death of Henry's wife in 1773 added to this fortune. It has been suggested that Blundell began to collect seriously at the age of fifty-three as a result of a combination of this new-found wealth and the encouragement of his neighbour Charles Townley, who already had a large collection.¹⁴⁹ He made collecting trips to Italy, and published an account detailing his collection of five hundred and fifty-three items in 1803; in 1809, encouraged by Townley, he published a lavish two volume version with one hundred and fifty engravings of objects in his collection.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Aston, *Sir Richard Worsley, seventh baronet*.

¹⁴⁶ R. Worsley, *Museum Worleyanum or a Collection of Antique Basso Relievos, Bustos, Statues, and Gems with views of Places in the Levant taken on the spot in the years 1785-6 and 7 [With descriptions] Engl and Ital*, (London: Septimus Prowett, 1794 (sic) (1798)).

¹⁴⁷ Aston, *Sir Richard Worsley, seventh baronet*.

¹⁴⁸ D. Graham-Vernon, *Henry Blundell, 1724-1810*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2712> [accessed 02.07.12].

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ H. Blundell, *Engravings and Etchings of the Principal Statues, Busts, Bass-Reliefs, Sepulchral Monuments, Cinerary Urns &c in the collection of Henry Blundell Esq at Ince*, 2 vols (Liverpool, 1803, 1809).

Other life events such as illness could lead to thoughts of writing, and this was the case for Richard Neville, Lord Braybrooke of Audley End and John Disney of the Hyde. Richard Neville was Member of Parliament, albeit a fairly passive one, until his father's death when he was removed from the Commons after inheriting the title of Baron Braybrooke.¹⁵¹ His father had inherited the title of Baron Braybrooke from a distant cousin, and a condition required future Lord Braybrookes to assume the surname of Griffin, which Neville duly did. He also inherited the estate at Audley End, where he then took up permanent residence. In 1825 he published the edited journals of Samuel Pepys using a transcript provided for him, a task given him by his brother George who was a master at Magdalene College, Cambridge, but lacked time for the task himself. Perhaps encouraged by the warm reception of this two volume work, he went on to publish *The History of Audley End* in 1836.¹⁵² In addition to his disengagement from political life, he commented in the preface to the guide that he 'resorted' to the task of working on the book when recovering from a 'severe' illness in 1822.¹⁵³ He went on to acknowledge the help of 'my friend Mr. John Gage, Director of the Society of Antiquaries'.

His property description is illustrated and very comprehensive; fifty copies were published for private distribution only. He included an extensive family and property history, establishing himself firmly within a longstanding lineage. He noted the dissolution of the monastery of Saffron Walden, and also the visit to Audley End of Queen Elizabeth.¹⁵⁴ All of these insertions establish the worth of the family, the property and of Richard Griffin by association. The description of the rooms included a floor plan, and stopped short only of the bedrooms as too private for inclusion. In addition to impressing with status, Griffin also highlighted his more charitable works; he is noted elsewhere as a benevolent landlord.¹⁵⁵ He described cottages where he allowed ten old women to live, and followed this with an illustration.¹⁵⁶ He made certain choices of what to represent in the guide: there are no interior illustrations in

¹⁵¹ D.R. Fisher, *Richard Griffin [formerly Neville], third Baron Braybrooke, (1783-1858)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19959?docPos=3> [accessed 03.07.12].

¹⁵² Griffin, Lord Braybrooke, *The History of Audley End*.

¹⁵³ Ibid, preface.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, pp. 72-9.

¹⁵⁵ Fisher, *Richard Griffin*.

¹⁵⁶ Griffin, Lord Braybrooke, *The History of Audley End*, pp. 137-8.

spite of changes having been made, such as a return to the Jacobean style of an earlier heyday, and moving the main reception room back upstairs.¹⁵⁷

John Disney of the Hyde, in Essex, stated in the preface to his volume that he turned to writing when recovering from illness.¹⁵⁸ The preface gives a further insight into the potential motivations of such owner-writers:

The following catalogue has been drawn up for the private amusement of the compiler, and is intended only for private use. It has been printed to spare the trouble of repeated transcription; and is designed to introduce, to a small circle, the better knowledge of the articles of virtu for which he is indebted to the munificent bequest of his late friend. It will gratify his feelings to preserve in connection some otherwise scattered incidents of the personal history, as well as the correct judgement and taste, of their former possessors.¹⁵⁹

In this passage, Disney highlighted several key issues. Firstly, he cited his own ‘amusement’ as the aim of writing the guide. Secondly, he stated explicitly a factor that was the case for most of the owner-authored volumes: it is only for private use, for close friends. Thirdly he raised the issue of memorial in the authorship of such a book: he was expressing gratitude for the original bequest of the house from his friend Thomas Brand-Hollis, but was immortalising its source and various ‘otherwise scattered incidents’. In doing this he was writing history, but also making himself part of it.

Owner-authors: the Duke of Devonshire and Chatsworth

The direct involvement of the owner has thus been seen in several cases. The potential for a country house guidebook to represent the owner as much, or even more than the property, can be seen in a very intimate guide to Chatsworth written by William George Spencer Cavendish, the 6th Duke of Devonshire, for private distribution

¹⁵⁷ P. Drury, *Audley End*, (London: English Heritage, 2010).

¹⁵⁸ J. Disney, *A catalogue of some marbles, bronzes, pictures and gems, at the Hyde near Ingatestone, Essex. The greater part successively the property of Thomas Hollis Esq FRS and SA and Thomas Brand-Hollis Esq FRS and SA and now of John Disney, DD FSA*. (Privately Printed, 1809); for details of the Hyde see: N. Pevsner & E. Radcliffe, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Essex*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 252, [1954].

¹⁵⁹ J. Disney, *A catalogue of some marbles, bronzes, pictures and gems, at the Hyde*, preface.

amongst family and friends.¹⁶⁰ He adopted a very personal style, and engaged in self-reflection. The Duke published *A Handbook to Chatsworth and Hardwick* in 1844, but as early as 1837 had been contemplating the enterprise. In the summer of 1837 he confided in his niece Georgiana Dover that he had an idea for a 'Chatsworth book' (the inclusion of Hardwick Hall, one of his other properties, was a later addition).¹⁶¹ The final, unillustrated volume, describes each of the rooms' interiors in turn, but he employs the literary device of a letter, by addressing the book to 'Dearest Harriet', his sister.¹⁶² In an earlier letter to Harriet, Lady Grenville, he explains this device by saying that he would write it 'as if you had asked me for it, thus enabling me to do the job easy and ennuieless'.¹⁶³ There was another benefit and product of the chosen mode of writing, however, for the style enabled a greater level of intimacy and subjectivity than would have been possible in a more straightforward description. The account was enlivened by many personal memories, anecdotes and opinions which give a sense of the Duke's warm personality. He described, for example, a servant Mrs Bunting: 'the most prim, and regular, and punctual of ladies' maids, walking as if she went upon wheels'.¹⁶⁴ In this way, the book was an autobiographical statement as well as a biography of the house.

The Duke of Devonshire, often referred to as the Bachelor Duke because of his enduring unmarried status, was an avid collector. Initially interested in medals, he spent £50, 000 on this new collection immediately after his succession in 1811, but sold them for only £7,056 in 1844 when he was short of funds.¹⁶⁵ He was a keen book collector for much of his life, and an avid collector of sculptures and patron to Antonio Canova following various visits to Italy. He was also a keen renovator of his many properties, but in particular his main residence of Chatsworth. In 1818 he began an association with the architect Jeffrey Wyatt, who continued to work on various grand projects at

¹⁶⁰ 'The Handbook to Chatsworth and Hardwick', website for Chatsworth House, at: <http://www.chatsworth.org/art-and-archives/art-library-and-archive-collections/highlights/library/handbook-to-chatsworth-and-hardwick> [accessed 6.12.13]; for details of Chatsworth see: N. Pevsner & E. Williamson, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Derbyshire*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 126-139, [1978].

¹⁶¹ J. Lees-Milne, *The Bachelor Duke: A Life of William Spencer Cavendish 6th Duke of Devonshire 1790-1858*, (London: John Murray Ltd, 1991), p. 164-5.

¹⁶² W Spencer Cavendish, 6th Duke of Devonshire, *Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick*, (Privately Printed, 1844), p.1.

¹⁶³ Lees-Milne, *The Bachelor Duke*, p. 165.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 166.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p.23.

Chatsworth for over twenty years. He later also employed Joseph Paxton, who designed and built a huge conservatory at Chatsworth which later became the model for the Crystal Palace.¹⁶⁶ Chatsworth began as a country house, but he wished it to become a palace, suitable for grand entertaining.¹⁶⁷ By 1844 when he published the *Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick* major improvements had been made, and the Duke was keen to detail these in the volume. Lees-Milne has suggested the handbook as a means towards immortality, which he makes the questionable psychological leap of claiming this urge is 'peculiar to unfulfilled and childless persons'.¹⁶⁸ Whatever the underlying impetus, the Duke certainly seems to have been keen to share with others his passion for his collections and for his house, and to showcase the results of his decades of improvements.

Earlier 1844 the Duke had been made aware of the extent of his overspending and resultant debts which had reached the huge sum of £1,000,000; perhaps his keen writing of the handbook in the Autumn of that year was in some ways a justification or stocktaking of the benefits of his large amounts of spending, as well as a kind of commemoration of his achievements. He did indeed highlight the many changes he had made to Chatsworth as he described the rooms in turn, but he also added his own brand of gentle humour. His subjective evaluation does not shy away from critical comments on the interiors, such as in the Blue Drawing Room where he commented that the chimney-piece is: 'a new purchase, ugly enough, and bought in a hurry and only tolerated because the roses thereon agree with the ceiling'.¹⁶⁹ He glossed over some possible inconsistencies, in describing his purchase of woodwork for the Oak Room: 'One day, walking with a friend in Berners Street, we were tempted into the auction room, and found carved oak being knocked down. I bought to the right and left, and became possessed of almost all you see here, the fittings of some German monastery, and the woodwork of an old fashioned pew'.¹⁷⁰ The carved wood was from a variety of

¹⁶⁶ K.D. Reynolds, *William George Spencer Cavendish, 6th Duke of Devonshire*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4951?docPos=9> [accessed 15.10.12].

¹⁶⁷ Lees-Milne, *The Bachelor Duke*, p. 43.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁶⁹ Spencer Cavendish, *Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick*.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

sources rather than from a single monastery as the Duke suggests, however, and the wood took a few years to assemble, probably by Sir Jeffrey Wyatville.¹⁷¹

His personal reflections occur throughout the book, whether on his dislike of the idea of being Queen Victoria's Lord Chamberlain, or more trivial matters such as his dislike of 'the smell of fat and fry that is usual in Brighton houses' when mentioning his property in Kempton in the postscript, asking 'are we to dislike it because it is too small?'¹⁷² The potential for the guidebook as a more personal reflection of the owner, rather than a purely objective account of the collections is thus established, a principle which will be dissected in greater detail in the case studies in the next four chapters. In addition the Duke's choice of emphasis and nuancing or even fictionalising of information to give a certain impression highlights the need to question the objectivity of the guidebook genre.

Owner-authors: Thomas Lister Parker and Browsholme

Thomas Lister Parker had much in common with the 6th Duke, for he was also single throughout his life, and an avid collector. Parker succeeded to the Browsholme estate in 1797 on the death of his father. He went on a Grand Tour in 1800, visiting France, Italy and Russia, and perhaps this was the impetus for a lifelong passion for collecting.¹⁷³ He collected pictures, books and antiquities, as well as embarking on a programme of alterations to Browsholme Hall on his return from Europe in 1801. In 1804 Parker removed the stables from their visible location at the front and put them at the back of the house, and in 1805 he pulled down front of the west wing and rebuilt on the same ground plan. In 1807, a new dining room was erected next to the west wing. He went on to decorate the roof line with stone pyramids, but by 1817 these had been replaced with Parker standards on wrought iron supports.¹⁷⁴ Most of his major changes had thus been effected by the time he published his own guide to Browsholme Hall in

¹⁷¹ J. Harris, *Moving Rooms, the Trade in Architectural Salvages*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 44-6; N.B. Jeffrey Wyatville had by this date changed his surname from Wyatt.

¹⁷² Spencer Cavendish, *Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick*, p. 231 & 225.

¹⁷³ C. Sebag-Montefiore, *Thomas Lister Parker*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21343>, [accessed, 3.09.12].

¹⁷⁴ S. Jervis, *Browsholme Hall, near Clitheroe, Lancashire; the Historic Home of the Parker Family, the Residence of Robert Redmayne Parker*, (Derby: English Life Publications Ltd, 1980), p.3.

1815.¹⁷⁵ The volume in fact focuses more on the interiors and his structural changes than on his collections, and this fact squares with his antiquarian interests; he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1801. It is a sad conclusion to his biography that his historical interests led to his downfall; due to the combined effects of spending on collecting and on building projects, he was forced to sell Browsholme Hall, with contents, to his cousin and heir Thomas Parker in 1824. From this date onwards he travelled between the houses of friends, and died at the Starr Inn in Manchester in 1858 with very few possessions and less than £450 in savings.¹⁷⁶

Thomas Lister Parker's antiquarian interests led to a particular way of representing his home which not only highlighted the historical aspects of it, but which emphasised these features even when they were not original. His textual description in the guide focuses on the history of the property and family, along with ancient letters and documents from the Browsholme archives. He does not describe the interiors, except in the form of illustrations, and so does not make reference to the many historicisations of the property which he made. The original house had been built in the sixteenth century by Richard Parker, and his descendant Thomas Lister Parker was keen to enhance the Elizabethan atmosphere of the property. He had embellished the eighteenth-century window openings on the ground floor, with Elizabethan-style mullions. In 1809 Parker was given some panelling dating back to 1620 by his friend James Taylor of Parkhead, and he installed this in the library. He also put an overmantel in this room which dates to pre-1584, but which bears the arms of the Towneleys of Hapton Tower where the feature originated from.¹⁷⁷ In the dining room a sideboard was constructed from earlier fragments to give the impression of antiquity.¹⁷⁸ Changes such as these gave the impression of a house that had stood still in time, contrary to the actual reality of the many changes that Parker had made. He did nothing to correct this impression in the text, instead adding details of his family history to connect himself with the historical status and stature of the property. He included many illustrations of the interiors in his guide, showing the panelling and overmantel in

¹⁷⁵ T.L. Parker, *Description of Browsholme Hall in the West riding of the County of York and of the Parish of Waddington in the same County, and also A Collection of Letters, from original Manuscripts, in the Reigns of Charles I. and II. and James II. in the possession of Thos. Lister Parker of Browsholme Hall, Esq.*, (S. Gornell, London, 1815).

¹⁷⁶ Sebag-Montefiore, *Thomas Lister Parker*.

¹⁷⁷ Jervis, *Browsholme Hall*, p. 7.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 9.

the library, and the sideboard in the dining room.¹⁷⁹ He thus successfully allied himself with a family history, giving himself a status that was conferred by lineage and ancient property. It will be seen in chapter 3 how a similar effect was created and represented at Cotehele in Cornwall: both examples show how the guidebook had the potential for being nuanced in a certain direction, at the expense of objectivity. Sadly in developing the Browsholme, the cost was its eventual loss to him.

Another keen collector, Sir Thomas Phillipps, also ended his life in financial ruin as a result of his collecting habits. He had a catalogue to his extensive book collection published by a local printer in 1819; although not a large book, it was not published for the casual visitor as only four were printed.¹⁸⁰ This was clearly an endeavour mainly for his own benefit, and to give to one or two collector-friends. Phillipps's collecting obsession has been linked by psychoanalyst Werner Muensterberger to an uncertain status in life because of his illegitimate birth to a wealthy father and a young servant girl.¹⁸¹ He had amassed around sixty thousand manuscripts and thirty thousand books by the time of his death in 1872, a collection which rather than enhancing his property at Middle Hill, had made it almost impossible to live there. Even the Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum was shocked; Sir Frederic Madden's enthusiasm for manuscripts could not overcome his horror at the excessiveness of Phillipps's collection. After a visit in 1854 he wrote in his diary: 'The house is more miserable and dilapidated every time I visit it, and there is not a room now that is not crowded with large boxes full of manuscripts'.¹⁸² Sir Thomas Phillipps spent the vast bulk of any available money on his collection, and often money he did not have; on his death he left his wife only a hundred pounds 'as a mark of my affection'.¹⁸³ He was thus another owner-collector whose passion, in this case an obsession, as reflected in his guidebook, ended in financial straits.

The owner-writers discussed so far, had been able to display their erudition both in displaying their collections and property, but also by the very act of writing a guidebook. Some of these authors felt the need to defend themselves from the criticism

¹⁷⁹ T.L.Parker, *Description of Browsholme Hall*, unpaginated.

¹⁸⁰ T. Phillipps, *A Catalogue of Books at Middle Hill, Worcestershire*, (Salisbury, 1819).

¹⁸¹ W. Muensterberger, *Collecting, an Unruly Passion: Psychological Perspectives*, (Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 73-100.

¹⁸² *Ibid*, p. 75.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 100.

of vanity in this endeavour. William Cotton, owner of Leatherhead Priory, addressed such a potential criticism by quoting Dr. Johnson in: ‘whatever busies the mind without corrupting it, has at least this use, that it rescues the day from idleness’.¹⁸⁴ John Coakley Lettsom of Grove Hill, who will be discussed later in this thesis as a case study, chose to avoid the criticism altogether by not acknowledging his authorship in his book.¹⁸⁵

Owner-authors: Francis Charles Fox and Brislington House

It has thus been seen that the country house guidebook could be motivated by the owner’s interests, and could harbour elements of his personal style. Evidence of a very idiosyncratic purpose and unique agenda far removed from tourism or the casual visitor can be seen in the example of Brislington House, home of Francis Charles Fox.¹⁸⁶ In 1804 Edward Long Fox, a Quaker physician, commissioned the building of Brislington House near Bristol, as a purpose-built lunatic asylum which he opened in 1806.¹⁸⁷ Treatment in the asylum was very controversial, and consisted of humane care with exercise and recreational activity rather than the more commonly used harsh coercion and restraint. The enterprise was continued by his two sons, Francis Charles Fox and Charles Joseph Fox, who were also medical doctors. It was Francis Charles Fox who wrote the guide, entitled: *History and present state of Brislington House near Bristol an asylum for the cure and reception of insane persons*: his aim was to reassure potential patients and their families of the treatment methods used at the asylum.¹⁸⁸ The motivation for writing this book was clearly very different, therefore, from the motivations of other author-owners. This idiosyncratic purpose is interesting in itself, but further investigation into the way in which the house was described and depicted has implications not only for the history of psychiatry and for knowledge about the

¹⁸⁴ W. Cotton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of some Pictures, books and prints medals, bronzes, and other curiosities collected by Charles Rogers Esq. FRS FAS and now in the possession of William Cotton, MA FAS of the Priory, Leatherhead, Surrey*, (London: William Bentley, 1836), preface.

¹⁸⁵ T.C. Lettsom, *Grove-Hill: An Horticultural Sketch*, (London: 1792).

¹⁸⁶ For details of Brislington House see: N. Pevsner, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: North Somerset and Bristol*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 465-6, [1958].

¹⁸⁷ *Brislington House, Insane asylum*, Bristol Records Office, 39801/F/29

¹⁸⁸ F.C. Fox, *History and present state of Brislington House near Bristol, an asylum for the cure and reception of insane persons, established by Edward Long Fox MD AD1804 and now conducted by Francis Charles Fox MDD*, (Bristol: Light & Ridler, 1836).

medical uses of architecture, but for the way in which the guidebook genre could be appropriated and used.

It is first of all noteworthy that Fox decided to adopt the genre of house guide writing to advertise his asylum, for in doing so he immediately used a form which is likely to have been familiar to the elite landed nobility that he intended as his clientele. In it he describes the building, the setting and the architecture, with illustrations of the exterior just as in many of the contemporary tourist guides. A specific purpose is highlighted, however, for not only was Brislington House very similar to a typical country house that might be depicted in a guidebook, the architecture has been subtly and covertly altered to contain the inmates securely. The central house was connected to nearby houses by internal corridors, and only one main entrance meant that inmates had to pass a porter who was on constant duty if they wished to exit. Other architectural features which enforced containment but which implied normality included the use of iron to make ‘a venetian blind....which, without impeding light, accomplishes all ends required’.¹⁸⁹

In spite of the need for security, there is evidence that the scenery was intended as a benefit to the residents. An undercover arcade was described for exercise during wet weather, and it was stated that although enclosed: ‘the ground is so raised in the centre as to permit the patients to enjoy a view of the surrounding country’.¹⁹⁰ The text in the guide does not go so far as to suggest any potential therapeutic benefits of an engagement with nature as has been claimed in the literature. In a recent article, Clare Hickman has argued that Brislington House and other asylums of the period had picturesque views of the landscape and extensive and varied grounds for the therapeutic benefits of nature.¹⁹¹ She quoted Joseph Addison writing in the *Spectator* a century earlier: ‘Delightful scenes whether in nature, painting, or poetry have a kindly influence on the body as well as the mind, and not only serve to clear and brighten the

¹⁸⁹ Fox, *History and present state of Brislington House*, p.5.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ C. Hickman, ‘The Picturesque at Brislington House, Bristol: The Role of Landscape in Relation to the Treatment of Mental Illness in the Nineteenth-Century Asylum’, in: *Garden History*, Vol. 33:1, 2005, pp. 47-60 & C. Hickman, ‘Cheerful prospects and tranquil restoration: the visual experience of landscape as part of the therapeutic regime of the British asylum, 1800-60’, in *History of British Psychiatry*, 2009, 20, pp. 425-441.

imagination, but are able to disperse grief and melancholy'.¹⁹² Hickman cites the quote about the 'surrounding scenery' at Brislington from earlier writing by Edward Fox to support her case.¹⁹³ However, the *History and present state of Brislington House* does not provide direct support for this assertion. The grounds themselves, with picturesque view, are not depicted in the illustrations, and there is only one reference in the text to the patients making use of the views.

The text in the guide does not make any specific reference to the therapeutic benefits of simply viewing beauty in nature, in spite of giving details of the treatment regime employed. Throughout the book the use of the extensive grounds surrounding the property is mentioned only with reference to three other benefits it allowed. Firstly it created a buffer between the asylum and patients and the outside world. This buffer prevented the proprietor from being 'incommoded' by neighbours and from intrusion by visitors.¹⁹⁴ During this century the inmates in other asylums were often the subject of ridicule and mockery by the many visitors who were attracted to asylums to view the lunatics. This potential intrusion led to the architecture of asylums having few windows. James Elmes described in 1847 how the small semi-circular windows of the 'mad-house' at St Lukes were high up to save 'exposing the unhappy inmates to the gaze, and often derision, of the multitude'.¹⁹⁵ Brislington House, by contrast, was situated in the countryside on 'two hundred acres of elevated ground'.¹⁹⁶ The second benefit of the extensive estate which Fox elucidated was the potential for recreational activity that it offered, and throughout the text he states the importance of exercise and mental occupation, and that 'the estate at Brislington affords abundant occupation for those who are able to engage in agricultural or horticultural pursuits'.¹⁹⁷ A bowling green and opportunities for football and cricket were some of the options listed, and although Fox claimed it was 'hard to engage females in physical activity' a daily promenade and the use of musical instruments was considered the next best alternative to exercise in the open air.

¹⁹² Hickman, 'Cheerful prospects and tranquil restoration', p. 426.

¹⁹³ The article does not mention the guide to Brislington House.

¹⁹⁴ Fox, *History and present state of Brislington House*, p. 4

¹⁹⁵ C. Stevenson, *Medicine and Magnificence, British Hospital and Asylum Architecture, 1660-1815*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p.104.

¹⁹⁶ Fox, *History and present state of Brislington House*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 9.

A third benefit of the grounds at Brislington should not be underestimated, and can be deduced from Fox's statement of the landscape: 'to which his (the proprietor's) taste gave an imposing appearance'.¹⁹⁸ All aristocratic landed estates would have had such a circle of grounds, and Fox's patients were from the class that lived in just such a setting; he was offering his elite clientele the chance to recuperate in an environment similar to that with which they were familiar and would expect. Even servants were provided, who could give the added benefit of surreptitious surveillance.¹⁹⁹

The illustrations of Brislington in the guide show the front of the house, the slightly sunken walled garden and covered walkway for exercise and the lodge and two of the cottages on the estate for families or higher nobility. These are very similar to the sorts of illustrations and way of depicting country houses in other guides, such as that to Cassiobury Park, for example. The symmetrical Palladian house frontage is framed by trees which obscure the connecting accommodation, and a carriage with servants waits at the door (figure 7). The house represents the imposing architecture of the day, in defiance of a commonly held contemporary view that grandeur would be wasted on the mad.²⁰⁰ A woman and children walk in the grounds, portraying an image of normality, but there is a notable lack of any men for as the text stresses, the sexes are kept separate. In fact the house inside was split down the middle by a wall to effect this purpose, and there were also separate sitting rooms to segregate patients with different levels of illness, with the implication that there was also segregation by social class. It was felt important not to impede potential recovery 'by preventing persons of rank and quality from an indiscriminate association with those of inferior manners and condition'.²⁰¹ In the evenings some patients were allowed to sit and socialise with members of the proprietors' families, to further add to the sense of a home from home. By creating the semblance of a standard country house of the time, along with a guide book to the property which was similar to many contemporary guides to country houses, Fox could hope to attract an elite clientele to his asylum which was very different from Bedlam and other public asylums of the day. Brislington House was an early precursor to the modern day Priory Group which is famous for offering upmarket psychiatric care for

¹⁹⁸ Fox, *History and present state of Brislington House*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 4.

²⁰⁰ Stevenson, *Medicine and Magnificence*, p. 91.

²⁰¹ Fox, *History and present state of Brislington House*, p. 5.

addictions and other disorders to celebrities and the wealthy in general. It an example which demonstrates the potential for the individual country house guidebook to go beyond a simple tourist explanation, and to have a very specific agenda.

Of the large sample as a whole, the only other property description which could more loosely be seen as having a marketing agenda at least as one of the aims was John Soane's guide to his property in Ealing, Pitzhanger Manor. Soane's prolific career as an architect attracting many clients has been well documented elsewhere.²⁰² Less attention has been paid to the fact that many of his clients were also visitors to his properties, including his country house at Ealing, Pitzhanger Manor, bought in 1800, and it is possible that his guide to Pitzhanger, written after he had completed most of the many improvements to the property, was in some part an advert of his skills.²⁰³ There were many more aspects to the property and his description of it that were highly personal and which related strongly to his own sense of identity. Firstly the very nature of the property's acquisition related to his biography and to his career status. At the age of fifteen, Soane had been introduced to architect George Dance, and began to work for him in his London practice. It was therefore a coincidence that two and a half decades later, when Soane was planning to build his own villa in Ealing, George Dance's property of Pitzhanger Manor came up for sale; Soane could not resist.²⁰⁴ The ensuing structural development of the property allowed Soane to experiment with bow windows and a variety of materials; he was free to follow his own vision and whims. The grand front portico was reminiscent of the entrance to the Bank of England, and a reference to his prestigious project there; this similarity suggests that Soane saw Pitzhanger as a very personal venture. Records show that for him Pitzhanger was indeed a self-portrait.²⁰⁵

One feature which he expanded on at length in his guide, was the view of ancient 'ruins' through the window of the sculpture gallery; the illusion of a genuine site of antiquity juxtaposed with a modern site for the display of such items. He

²⁰² G. Darley, *John Soane: An Accidental Romantic*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999).

²⁰³ J. Soane, *Plans, Elevations and Perspective Views of Pitzhanger Manor House, and the ruins of an edifice of Roman architecture, situated on the border of Ealing Green, with a description of the ancient and present state of the manor house in a letter to a friend*, (London: J. Moyes, 1802).

²⁰⁴ Darley, *John Soane*, pp. 7-8 & pp. 150-151.

²⁰⁵ D. Watkin, *Sir John Soane, 1753-1837*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25983?docPos=1> [accessed 15.03.12].

described hosting many visitors from amongst his clients, friends and family, and he states the stimulus to discourse that he intended from the creation of the ruins:

‘It was not unusual to entertain from one to two hundred persons to *dejeune a la fourchette*: many of whom, after contemplating the ruins and drawings, communicated their sentiments on the subject which created a constant source of intellectual enjoyment.’²⁰⁶

As well as the ruins, various features of the interior such as a monk’s dining room detailed in the basement, belied the house’s origins as an eighteenth-century villa.²⁰⁷

The association with monastic origins, fictional or genuine, is not uncommon in guides of this period which might seek to embellish a sense of history.

A modern inscription ‘*fili filiorum*’ implied continuity through the generations, but also referred to his expectations that his sons would follow in his profession. He incorporated features in the property that would render it suitable as a place of architectural education for them, and stated in the guide that the reason for the purchase of the property was for the family but later for his son John, who was to be an architect; in making the changes to the property he wanted to make is ‘as complete as possible’ for him.²⁰⁸ As well as describing the interior and exterior of the property, he included elevations, views of the ‘ruins’ and interior scenes showing the house in use as an elegant retreat. In representing Pitzhanger Manor in the guide, he was describing a house full of personal identity, architectural achievement and family aspirations. It was sadly to be as soon as 1810 that he realised that while his son George showed no interest in architecture, his son John showed no aptitude; bitterly disappointed, Soane sold Pitzhanger in that year.²⁰⁹

It has thus been seen how the country house guidebook could serve a purpose far removed from public tourism, and that as a genre it had great potential for conveying a portrait of the owner as well as of the property. This leads to the question of how such highly individual and often personal books differed from representations of the country house in county guides and the volumes of views of seats that abounded in the period.

²⁰⁶ Soane, *Plans, Elevations and Perspective Views of Pitzhanger Manor House*, p. 8.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁰⁹ Watkin, *Sir John Soane*.

Country houses in individual guides and in more general publications: a comparison

In the whole sample of houses in this study from 1720 to 1845, 59 houses had a guidebook first before being depicted in other publications; 20 of these, however, were only depicted in the guidebook and not in subsequent county guides at all. This means that the remaining 43 properties were depicted in county guides before the property acquired a guidebook. It would seem therefore, that for one third of properties the production of a guidebook came before representation elsewhere; the variation depends very much on the type of property depicted. A few of these will now be looked at in some more detail, to show the sorts of trends that were typical, and to examine the variations in the different types of representation in the varying sources.

Corsham House, a sixteenth-century property latterly known as Corsham Court, in Wiltshire, had a small, portable guide written in about by John Britton published in 1806.²¹⁰ Two publications had already featured illustrations of Corsham House by this date: William Watts' *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry in 1779* and John Britton's two volume *Beauties of Wiltshire* in 1801. The former showed a classical frontage to the house, and was a decade after a re-modelling of the grounds by 'Capability' Brown (figure 8).²¹¹ The second of these publications appeared shortly after a new north front in neo-Gothic style by John Nash, and a re-design of the grounds by Humphrey Repton (figure 9).²¹² The guidebook to Corsham House therefore had a precedent, and added information in the text, such as of the collections, which went beyond these earlier books. Although the guide to Wiltshire showed a similar illustration than the later guidebook, both by John Britton, there was the addition of a plan of the ground floor in the guidebook (figure 10).

There were several later publications which included illustrations of Corsham House, and one of these, J.P. Neale's *Views of Seats*, went beyond the details included

²¹⁰ J. Britton, *An Historical Account of Corsham House in Wiltshire, the seat of Paul Cobb Methuen, Esq With a catalogue of his celebrated collection of pictures, etc*, (London : Printed for the Author; Bath: Joseph Barrett, 1806); for details of Corsham House, now known as Corsham Court see: N. Pevsner & B. Cherry, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Wiltshire*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 192-3, [1963].

²¹¹ The development of Corsham House in this period has been detailed in: F.J. Ladd, *Architects at Corsham Court: A Study in Revival Style Architecture and Landscaping, 1749-1849*, (Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire: Moonraker Press, 1978).

²¹² H. Repton, 'Corsham House', in J. Britton, *Beauties of Wiltshire*, Vol. II, pp. 280-1.

in the guidebook and, unlike the majority of other houses in the series where only the exterior was depicted, showed an illustration of the interior as well as a room-by-room guide of the paintings and furnishings (figure 11). Thus in the case of this property, the guidebook followed earlier depictions, but added a bit more detail; later representations in more general books added further detail still.

The example of Corsham House is typical of most of the guidebooks with a preceding county guide reference in one key way; the guidebook added to the information. Though Britton added more information about the art collection, the sole additional illustration included in his *Historical Account of Corsham House* was simply a plan. Most guidebooks supplemented accounts given in county guides to a greater extent than this. The guidebooks to Ince Blundell Hall and Sezincote both preceded depictions in more general publications elsewhere, and both showed specific aspects of the architecture which gave a different emphasis. In the former, the portico and pediment of the 'Park Pantheon' were illustrated as well as the statue of *Isis* and a portrait of Henry Blundell, the owner, showing an emphasis on the sculpture collections and the collector himself beyond the simple front view in the later depictions from J.P. Neale's *Views of Seats* onwards (figure 12).²¹³ The extensive sculpture collection was a feature of the house, and now resides in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.²¹⁴ In several of the other guidebooks, the art collections were one element of the property that was emphasised instead of the architecture. Wilton House is another example: it had five separate guidebooks in the mid-eighteenth century which all focused on the famous sculpture collections, whilst it was left to later more general publications from 1786 onwards to depict the front of the property. These elements show the potential for the guidebook to be a much more personal and individual biography of the house and owner beyond a front view and description.

²¹³ H. Blundell, *Engravings and Etchings at Ince*, ; J.P. Neale, *Views of Seats*, Vol. II, (London: Sherwood, Neale & Jones, 1819); for details of Sezincote see: D. Verey & A. Brooks, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Gloucestershire I: The Cotswolds*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 597-600, [1970].

²¹⁴ See: J. Fejfer & E. Southworth, *The Ince Blundell Collection of Classical Sculpture: The Portraits*, Vol. 1, (Liverpool University Press, 1991), J. Fejfer, *The Ince Blundell Collection of Classical Sculpture: The Portraits Part II, the Roman Male Portraits*, Vol. 1, Part II, (Liverpool University Press, 1997) & G. Davies, *The Ince Blundell Collection of Classical Sculpture: The Ash Chests and other Funerary Reliefs*, Vol 2, (Darmstadt, Germany: Verlag Phillip von Zabern, 2007) .

Another variation in emphasis between the guidebook and illustrations in more general books was simply to have a greater variety of views both towards the house from all angles, as well as of the view from the property. This was the case with the guidebook to Sezincote, which illustrated many aspects of the house and view, including one innovative illustration of the view as reflected in a glass of the door to the East front (Figure 13).²¹⁵ At Porkington Hall in Shropshire (now known as Brogyntyn Hall), the guidebook came after the property was depicted in J.P. Neale's *Views of Seats* and in a county guide; the guidebook offered more architectural detail than in these other books, but it was of the house through the ages, starting in 1695 (figure 14). The latest illustration was dated 1817, and perhaps explains the choice to publish the volume (figure 15). The book serves the useful purpose of showing the different stages of architectural development of the house, from an irregular frontage in the seventeenth century, to a symmetrical Palladian frontage in the next century. The captions highlight what is likely to have been the motivating factor for the publication of the book: each illustration is paired with information about the owner during that period. The final image of the house is paired with a statement of William Ormsby-Gore's acquisition of the property. He joined the Gore family by marrying Jane Ormsby in 1815, he adopted her surname to become William Ormsby-Gore and so 'became possessor of' Porkington Hall. The book thus inserted the contemporary owner into the lineage of owners and emphasised the justification of his claim to the property. The writing of history in this case, interesting from the point of architectural development, paired ownership with these details and determines them to be of equal value. This story was not present in the earlier depictions of Porkington Hall in Neale's *Views of Seats*, which illustrated the plain main frontage, nor in a county guide published shortly after *Views of Seats* (figures 16 and 17).²¹⁶ The latter did refer to William Ormsby-Gore's marriage in the text, however.

So it can be seen that individual guidebooks written for a single country house have the freedom to contain more information than the constraints imposed by space in a county guide or volume of views of seats of the aristocracy. This additional information tends to add detail specific to that property and the owner, and which

²¹⁵ J. Martin, *Views of Sezincote*, (1818).

²¹⁶ J.P. Neale, *Views of Seats*, Vol. III, (London: Sherwood, Neale & Jones, 1820) & W. West, *Picturesque Views and Descriptions of Cities, Towns, Castles and Mansions and Other Objects of Interesting Features in Shropshire, from Original Drawing*, (Birmingham: William Emans, 1831), p. 123 .

reflects aspects of their identity and interests considered important by them; this is in contrast to the aim of the more general publications to situate the owner and house within a type of property and to establish their status, and in the case of county guides, to situate that property within a county context. This can be seen in many examples such as a guidebook for Mount Edgcumbe, a sixteenth-century property which was then in Devon until the 1844 border changes transferred the Rame Peninsula and parish of Maker to Cornwall (the county border then became the River Tamar). In a scenic location, Mount Edgcumbe had its first guidebook written in 1812 for the many tourists that flocked to use the pleasure grounds; it ran to several subsequent editions.²¹⁷ It was portable, but unillustrated, and was followed by a more substantial illustrated guide in 1820.²¹⁸ Both of these guides were preceded by an illustration in Britton and Brayley's series of county guides, which shows the house from a side view, of the south front; this enabled a distant view of the Tamar, with Plymouth across the river, as well as parts of county on the west side of the Tamar, and so put the estate in its geographical context (figure 18). This view in fact cannot be seen from the south front, and even with fewer trees would not be possible.²¹⁹ The views in the second guidebook to Mount Edgcumbe, however, instead show the main front view of the house, as well as various buildings in the grounds such as the Temple of Milton (Figures 19 & 20). In a view of Plymouth Sound, Plymouth can be seen in the distance, but the effect is not as topographical as the view in the earlier county guide (figure 21). This differs from a later view in a guide to 'Devonshire' which gives a detailed impression of Plymouth dockyard to the northwest, as well as the eastern-most point of Devon to the left of the River Tamar (figure 22). The county guides thus located and illustrated Mount Edgcumbe with views of the two counties of which it sat on the border, whereas the individual guidebook looked more inwards towards the property itself.

The preceding guidebooks can thus be seen to be implying more of a narrative into the biography of the house they describe than is seen in county guides or in views of seats. All of the depictions of Mount Edgcumbe show it well-populated with some of the many visitors who are known to have enjoyed the grounds; this was a matter for

²¹⁷ *A Walk Round Mount Edgcumbe*, (Plymouth: L.Congdon, 1812).

²¹⁸ *Eight Views of Mount Edgcumbe*, (London: William Clarke, 1820).

²¹⁹ J. Britton, & J.W. Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales: Devonshire and Dorsetshire*, Vol. IV, (London: Vernor & Hood, 1803), pp. 186-187.

individual pride on the part of the owner, as well as showing a facility within the county (figure 23). One way in which many of the guidebooks offer a narrative beyond that shown in the county guides, and certainly in most of the single volumes and series of views of seats, is the inclusion of characters within the scene, and in particular those which are shown to engage in an activity more than simply walking or enjoying the view. One of the views of Blenheim in the guide of 1823 shows around twenty or thirty people enjoying boating on the lake for example (figure 24). There is much more minimal staffage in similar views in the earlier illustration of Blenheim in a book of picturesque views in 1787, and also in the guide to Oxfordshire and Rutlandshire and in Neale's *Views of Seats* (Figures 25 & 26).²²⁰ Neale's guidebook to Blenheim was published later than all of these, and builds on the emphasis of the presence of visitors and on the pleasures of the park. It also adds more detail with the inclusion of a plan: a feature which is common in guidebooks to individual houses, but almost non-existent in other sorts of publications which featured the country house (Figures 27 & 28).

The narrative created in country house guidebooks went beyond simply having greater staffage, however. In the guidebook for Cassiobury Park, the illustrations contained members of the gentry engaged in polite interaction and also several views of picturesque cottages on the estate. As well as the reader making the assumption from these that Cassiobury was a place where gentility was enacted, the cottages were a pointer to the generosity of the owner in creating pleasant accommodation for his workers, such as an illustration of the picturesque gamekeeper's cottage with the gamekeeper striding himself out for the day (figure 29). John Britton emphasises the point in the text, when he writes:

Unlike the ragged, wretched sheds and hovels which are all too often seen by the road-side, and even in connexion with some of the large and ancient parks of our island, the buildings here delineated are calculated to shelter, to console, and gratify the labourer after his daily toil, and to make his wife and family cleanly (sic) and diligent.²²¹

These views of happy workers were a supplement to the un-staffed illustrations in the earlier views in publications such as Neale's *Views of Seats* (figure 30).

²²⁰ J.N. Brewer, *Beauties of England and Wales: Oxfordshire and Rutlandshire*, Vol. XII, part II, (London: J. Harris, 1813), pp. 394-395 & J.P. Neale, *Views of Seats*, Vol. 5, (London: Sherwood, Neale & Jones, 1822), pp. 16-17.

²²¹ Britton, *The History and Description, with Graphic Illustrations, of Cassiobury Park*, p.30; for details of Perry Barr Hall see: C. Upton, *A History of Birmingham*, (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 2011), p. 196.

The suggestion of charitable works was made more explicit in a guidebook for Perry Barr Hall published in 1835.²²² The property was owned by John Gough, and it had not been represented in any of the major county guides or collections of views of seats. The guidebook was well illustrated, and included an illustration of a gentleman on horseback at the gates to the estate bending down apparently to give assistance to a man on crutches (figure 31). Whether or not the gentleman on horseback was intended to be owner John Gough, the implication of charitable values was made clear.

In an enactment of a different sort of aristocratic behaviour, also at Perry Barr Hall, a mixed group of men and women interact at a garden party (figure 32). The back of an archery board can be seen in the foreground and two women approach it, whilst some others are seated on the grass in conversation with a man; other groups are arranged around the scene. This returns to the idea discussed earlier, of the country house as a stage on which a variety of enactments could be displayed. The enactment of polite values appropriate to membership of the upper social class was a common feature of illustrations in country house guidebooks that contained figures.

Other sorts of theatrical staging were possible with the backdrop of the country estate, and in a view inside the mausoleum at Belvoir Castle, a sense of education, drama and even divine awe were evoked in a representation of a couple and child viewing the memorial to Elizabeth, Duchess of Rutland (figure 33). The Duchess had died suddenly from a burst appendix in 1825, leaving a bereft husband who was determined to finish the building work of the castle in which she had shown such an interest.²²³ There is thus a large element of memorial in the guidebook. The earlier county guide for Leicestershire did include an illustration of Belvoir Castle with a couple viewing the property from a distance, but it was the standard external view typical of county guides (figure 34). Similarly an illustration in *Views of Seats*, was a plain external view (figure 35).

A final example of the way in which the guidebook offered more narrative in the illustrations than county guides, is *Harvey's Correct and authorized Guide to*

²²² C.W. Radclyffe, *Views of Perry Barr Hall: the seat of John Gough, Esq., from drawings by Charles Radclyffe*, (Birmingham: Wrightson and Webb, 1838).

²²³ Rutland, Duchess of, with J. Pruden, *Belvoir Castle: 1000 years of Family, Art and Architecture*, (London: Frances Lincoln Ltd., 2009), pp. 51-3.

*Illustrations and views of Knowle Cottage Sidmouth, the elegant Marine Villa Orne of Thos L Fish.*²²⁴ The cottage had been bought in 1820 by Thomas Fish, but an earlier view in a local guide to Sidmouth and surrounding area, shows an external view of quite a simple and plain cottage (figure 36).²²⁵ Fish gave the property a new look ‘at much expense’, and the guidebook published in 1837 offered a variety of views which show drama and a sense of theatre.²²⁶ A view of the entrance shows a carriage of visitors arriving, thus demonstrating the popularity of the property with local residents and tourists (figure 37). This use was emphasised by the dramatic use of language, with the approach described thus: ‘—the struggle for admission – the crash of bonnets, and the destruction of millinery – the screams of the females, and the exclamations of the victors’.²²⁷ The setting was described as ‘fairy-like’ on several pages, and the exoticism of the animals kept in the gardens, such as ‘kangaroos’ and ‘ali pacas’, was described. Peacocks are thus shown on the lawns of the cottage (figure 38). The windows are used as framing devices in two views from the interior of the cottage, and some cranes and parrots are placed to add interest and exoticism (figures 39 and 40). The sea can just be seen in the distance, which serves both to locate the property on the coast, and to demonstrate the picturesque nature and expansiveness of the views possible from the property. The guidebook therefore gives a wealth of information about the house beyond that which the earlier local guide offered, and creates the sense of a magical, exotic and unusual, yet popular, property.

There is one exception to the rule that country house guidebooks offer more of a narrative through staffage and other means than more general multi-property guides, and that is in the publications, beginning the first half of the nineteenth century, which embraced the use of historical dress. Such publications included Joseph Nash’s series *Mansions of England in the Olden Time* and Samuel Hall’s series published just after the end of the period covered in this thesis.²²⁸ Both of these publications featured Audley End, a house with sufficient history and ancient architecture to stimulate the nineteenth-century imagination.

²²⁴ Harvey, *Harvey’s Correct and authorized Guide to Illustrations and views of Knowle Cottage*.

²²⁵ Butcher, *Sidmouth Scenery*.

²²⁶ Harvey, *Harvey’s Correct and authorized Guide to Illustrations and views of Knowle Cottage*.

²²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 3.

²²⁸ Nash, *Mansions of England in the Olden Time*, 4 vols, & Hall, *The Baronial Halls, Picturesque Edifices and Ancient Churches of England*.

Audley End provides the example of one high status property which was represented in many county guides before having its own guidebook but it was not until publications such as Nash's *Mansions of England* that the house was depicted with the addition of figures in period dress. A county guide to Essex, published in 1768, Watts *Views of Seats* a decade later, and Neale's *Views of Seats* still later, each show an external view, with a single figure added for interest (See figures 41, 42 and 43).²²⁹ The guide to Audley End, written by the owner himself, added more narrative than the previous representations by depicting not only the modern day front with a variety of figures and family groups, but by reproducing an illustration from a seventeenth-century illustration of the house (figures 44 and 45).²³⁰ This latter illustration was from a huge folio selection of ten views of Audley End which is thought to have been published in 1689, and is one of only four publications about an individual country house which falls earlier than the parameters of the research in this thesis.²³¹ It references the period when Audley End was a Royal Palace and much larger, so adds a narrative by means of chronology and royal association.²³² Later representations of Audley End in publications featuring ancient properties lose the royal link, but show characters in period dress which evokes a sense of historical narrative which might be more easily accessible to a wider readership. In Nash's *Mansions of England in the Olden Time*, a group of people who all wear Civil War costume consists of a gentleman on horseback who doffs his hat to a couple who greet him at the entrance; ancient hospitality and gentlemanly manners are thus both displayed (figure 46). Slightly later, Audley End was depicted with figures apparently in Tudor costume, adding movement and historical narrative to a view of the staircase (figure 47). Later still, a party seated in the drawing room at Audley End appear to be in contemporary dress (figure 48).

It can thus be seen that greater narrative is seen in the guidebook to Audley End than in earlier county guides and views of seats, but that a new dimension is seen in later depictions which use historical dress. In some cases, the guidebook uses historical dress also, as seen in the 1839 guide to Knole which was published in the same year that

²²⁹ P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*; W. Watts, *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry*; J.P. Neale, *Views of Seats*, Vol. 1.

²³⁰ Griffin, Baron Braybrooke, *The History of Audley End*.

²³¹ H. Winstanley, *Ten Views of Audley End engraved by HW*, (c. 1689).

²³² The history and development of Audley End is detailed in: P. Drury, *Audley End*, pp. 36-56.

Nash's book depicted Knole with figures in historical dress.²³³ In the case of Cotehele House, only the guidebook used the enhancement of historical dress to add interest and imply narrative.

Woburn Abbey, Cotehele, the Deepdene and Grove Hill

The research sample as a whole displays a tendency for the large aristocratic seats to be considered worthy of publication in county guides or similar publications before the publication of an individual guidebook for the property. By contrast, the 'lesser' seats of the gentry are less likely to have come to the attention of county guide authors, or to be deemed worthy of inclusion. In these cases the publication of an individual guidebook often came first, and in many cases prompted subsequent inclusion of the property in more general local guides or series. This trend can be seen through the comparison of four very different properties from the sample. Two of the properties, Woburn Abbey and Cotehele House, had aristocratic owners, although Cotehele was a largely uninhabited secondary country house for the Edgcumbe family.²³⁴ Both of these properties were represented in county guides before they had individual guidebooks published. The other two properties, the Deepdene and Grove Hill, belonged to gentlemen with social aspirations; the former from a wealthy banking family, the latter a self-made doctor.²³⁵ Neither of these properties were represented in county guides until after they had individual guidebooks published, although Grove Hill had been described in *A Companion from London to Brighthelmston*, and it included a view of the property.²³⁶

County guides had an interest in depicting the seats of the nobility and thus those properties that they deemed to be of worth in the social hierarchy. Woburn Abbey

²³³ J. H. Brady, *The Visitor's Guide to Knole in the county of Kent, with Catalogues of the pictures contained in the mansion, and biographical notices of the principal persons whose portrait form part of the collection*, (Sevenoaks: James Payne, 1839); for details of Knole see: J. Newman, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: West Kent and the Weald*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 356-363, [1969].

²³⁴ Details of Cotehele House in: N. Pevsner & E. Radcliffe, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Surrey*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 191-194, [1962].

²³⁵ Details of the Deepdene in: J. Newman, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: West Kent and the Weald*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 356-363, [1969].

²³⁶ J. Edwards, *A Companion from London to Brighthelmston*, (London, 1792).

is thus noted to be a 'sight worthy of a ducal residence'.²³⁷ The illustrations and text emphasise the splendour and grandeur of the property, and establish it as a 'type'; a house of worth which reflected on the leadership qualities of the owner. This aspect was important both to the county guide author and to the owner and his entourage, and Humphrey Repton noted his concern that his developments to the estate would proceed 'without endangering the character of greatness'.²³⁸ The property is thus seen from the county looking in, and it is established as a lynchpin in the structure and dynamics of Bedfordshire and beyond.

The lengthy description of Woburn and the interior in the county guide might have obviated the need for an individual guidebook to the property, but in fact no fewer than seven individual guides would be published over the next three decades. In addition, the content of these took the description of Woburn beyond a simple view of the West front and added a more Woburn-centred view, with implications for the identity of the owner beyond his 'ducal' splendour. The next chapter, which will focus on Woburn Abbey as a case study will examine in more detail the relationship between the county guide depictions and the individual guidebook representations; it will be seen that these developed the view of the property from a more owner-centred perspective.

Cotehele in Cornwall was also the property of a titled aristocrat, the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, but Cotehele was only a secondary country residence used rarely; the nearby Mount Edgcumbe estate was the preferred country seat and was much grander. Unlike Woburn Abbey it was not the splendour of this aristocratic seat that was emphasised in county guides, but the nobility of the Edgcumbe family rendered it worthy of inclusion, and its place in the county scenery was recorded. Again it was the subsequent guidebook which would depict more individual aspects of the property. In Chapter 3, a case study of Cotehele will show how the guidebook emphasised the ancient aspects of Cotehele, nuanced to highlight history as at Browsholme Hall described earlier, and marking it out as an unusual object of historical interest.

²³⁷ J. Britton & E. W. Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales: Bedfordshire, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire*, (London: Vernor and Hood, 1801), p.42.

²³⁸ H. Repton & J. A. Repton, *Fragments of the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening including some remarks on Grecian and Gothic Architecture collected from various manuscripts in the possession of different Noblemen and Gentlemen for whose use they were originally written; the whole tending to establish fixed principles in the respective arts*, (London: J. Taylor, 1816), pp. 165-166.

The Deepdene had an untitled owner, Thomas Hope, although his large wealth enabled him to develop the estate and form a large collection of sculpture and art.²³⁹ Chapter 4 will show how his purchase of the Deepdene, an established country estate, was part of his attempt to be an accepted part of society. Whereas county guides would later depict the formal front of the property, guidebooks to the Deepdene itself showed less conventional views of the house embedded within the gardens, and thus promoted a particular theory of the picturesque.

Finally, Grove Hill was owned by a prominent and successful physician, John Coakley Lettsom, and chapter 5 will show how two guidebooks to his property, one of which he wrote himself, went beyond the representations of the house seen elsewhere to convey a very personal statement of individuality. Lettsom made use of the guidebook genre to promote both himself as a learned and forward-thinking individual alongside his theories of horticulture and medicine.

It can thus be seen from the preceding four examples, that for grand palatial seats such as Woburn Abbey, inclusion in regional guides was a foregone conclusion, and the individual guidebooks to the property came later, perhaps correcting and supplementing accounts already published. Cotehele House also, although not a primary country seat, had a titled owner as well as historical interest, which merited its inclusion in several guides to Cornwall before an individual guidebook was written. Grove Hill and the Deepdene, however, did not have aristocratic owners or an established reputation; Grove Hill had only some comment in published literature, but not in county guides or series of views of seats before the owner wrote an individual guidebook; the Deepdene had none at all. With 'lesser' properties, therefore, it was largely left to the owner to promote the property, and this enabled later depictions in other books and series.

The sorts of depictions in county guides and views of seats were almost always an external view with minimal narrative. This enabled these publications to categorize a country seat within certain standard groups, such as palace, neo-classical, Gothic or villa. This categorization of properties was a pre-occupation of the period: Humphrey Repton divided houses into six categories from 'plain' to 'Greek or Roman' to 'Gothic',

²³⁹ J. Orbell, *Thomas Hope (1769-1831)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13737?docPos=6> [accessed 26.03.2013].

with gradations between those divisions.²⁴⁰ The aim of a county guide was to place the property in a county context, and to view it through that lens from the outside in. The individual guidebook, by contrast, looked from the inside out, at the views, and at the experience of being on the estate as owner or as visitor; the agenda could be, and was, much more individual.

Conclusion

The guidebook genre has been seen to have been larger and more varied than has so far been acknowledged in the literature. The nature of books published was diverse, and this represents the variety of markets for which they were published; some were aimed at general sale, others were intended as neighbourly or diplomatic gifts. Whoever the intended readership, there was great potential for the guidebook to convey more information than a 'simple' objective record of facts. The *status quo* was represented in the illustrations, and the grandeur of the house and power of the owner emphasised. A very individual or specific message was often conveyed, such as: the charitable generosity of the owner, the exercise of gentlemanly leisure pursuits, or even, in one case, the advertisement of an insane asylum. The term 'guidebook' becomes misleading as the many potential uses and agendas are uncovered: not just books to offer guidance, they could also serve the purposes of memorial, celebration and biography of the property but also of the family.

The potential of the country house guidebook to go beyond more general depictions in county guides or views of seats has been demonstrated; in the next four chapters, case studies of the guidebooks of the four very different properties just discussed will allow a deeper analysis. The ducal Palace of Woburn Abbey, the ancient and slightly decaying second Cornish country seat of Cotehele House, the Deepdene, the country seat of an aspirational but untitled wealthy banking heir and the Surrey villa of a doctor: the owners of these very different properties had potentially different agendas. These will be examined in more detail in the forthcoming chapters. The order of these case studies has been chosen to begin with the largest aristocratic seat and work in decreasing order of size, but with increasing implications for the individual identity

²⁴⁰ H. Repton, *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*.

of the owner depicted through his house. The role of the individual guides for the property and family will be explored, as well as the ways in which they were used to convey aspects of individuality and uniqueness as well as upholding the *status quo*.

Chapter 2 : Woburn Abbey: A Grand Seat Represented

Introduction

Dana Arnold has theorised representations of the country house in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as embodying a specific cultural message, in particular ‘as an emblem of a set of social, economic and political values’.²⁴¹ The country house representation is thus seen as beyond a simple description, but as a promotion of the inherent order and structure in society, with the owner of the country estate by implication within the lead group of that hierarchy. This assertion will be explored through one property, Woburn Abbey, the seat of the wealthy and influential Russell family, the Dukes of Bedford. The potential motivations, circumstances of commission and content of the country house guidebook can be examined in depth through the selection of a case study, especially one with such a succession of publications as Woburn. This enables the conceptualisation of the guidebook to be taken beyond the needs of the tourist market and into a consideration of the construction and display of the identity owner through the medium of the country estate.

The published guides and books written about Woburn Abbey and its collections began with Horace Walpole’s catalogue of the paintings published in 1791.²⁴² There would then be a delay of two decades before a further six books were published between 1812 and 1834. Woburn Abbey has been chosen partly because of this comparatively large number of books published, but also because it serves as a contrast to the other case studies in this thesis. A huge, grand, neoclassical courtyard house incorporating the remains of the site of a former abbey, Woburn was an impressive display of the status of the Dukes of Bedford and the Russell family. It had been founded as a Cistercian Abbey in 1145, and granted to the Russell family by Henry VIII in 1547. The architectural history of the property has been pieced together by Diane Duggan, who explains how minor immediate changes occurred to make the building more comfortable, but that more extensive alterations to the fabric of the building came during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁴³ In the mid-eighteenth century it was re-built by Henry Flitcroft, and there were later changes by William Chambers and

²⁴¹ Arnold, *Reading Architectural History*, p. 128.

²⁴² H. Walpole, *Notes to the Portraits at Woburn Abbey*, (London, 1791).

²⁴³ D. Duggan, ‘Woburn Abbey: The First episode of a Great Country House’, *Architectural History*, vol. 46 (2003), pp. 57-80.

Henry Holland. Woburn was open for applications to visit from some point during the eighteenth century, and so the writing of books about the property was generated to some extent by tourist needs.

A large attraction at Woburn, as well as the grandeur of the house itself, was the extensive collections, including a large sculpture collection which was later housed in a dedicated sculpture galley converted from a greenhouse. The Woburn sculpture collection, now dispersed, has been widely exhibited and catalogued.²⁴⁴

Woburn Abbey publications

During the period under examination, seven different published books described the interior or collections at Woburn Abbey, or a combination of both (figure 49). The first book was published under the ownership of Francis Russell, the 5th Duke of Bedford, and it was a catalogue of paintings written by Horace Walpole; a modest volume designed to be taken around the collection by the Russell family and their visitors.²⁴⁵ It was commissioned by the Duke, as stated in a subsequent catalogue under the patronage of his successor.²⁴⁶ The next six books about Woburn Abbey were all published during the ownership of Francis Russell's brother John Russell, who succeeded as 6th Duke of Bedford after Francis had a fatal encounter with a tennis ball in 1802. Stephen Dodd wrote the first of these in 1818, in which the interior was described as well as a catalogue of paintings, with building and family history, and there was a view of the West front (figure 50).²⁴⁷ This was followed by a catalogue of the marbles in 1822, a medium-sized lavish production for the library (figure 51). Catalogues of miniatures and portraits followed in 1825 and 1834 respectively.²⁴⁸ In 1827, Peter Frederick Robinson published a lavish folio guide to Woburn as part of his new *Vitruvius Britannicus* series (figure 52). Finally in 1831, John Docwra Parry published a more

²⁴⁴ See G. Jackson-Stops, *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 295-6, ps 299 & 359. pp. 541-2.

²⁴⁵ H. Walpole, *Notes to the Portraits at Woburn Abbey*, (London, 1791).

²⁴⁶ *Catalogue of the Portraits in the collection of John, Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey*, (London: printed by James Moyes, 1834), p. iv.

²⁴⁷ S. Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity; containing also a concise genealogy of the house of Russell, and memoirs of the Late Francis Duke of Bedford*, (Woburn: S. Dodd, 1818).

²⁴⁸ *Outline Descriptions and Engravings of the Woburn Abbey Marbles* (London: W. Nichol, Shakspeare Press, 1822), *A Catalogue of Miniature Portraits in Enamel*, (London: W. Nichol, Shakspeare Press, 1825) & *Catalogue of the Portraits in the collection of John, Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey*, 1834.

modest but portable guide (figure 53).²⁴⁹

Each of the seven guides can be seen to have been written at key stages in the history of the development of the house. It is notable, however, that the major rebuilding work of the mid-eighteenth century under the 4th Duke was not accompanied by a publication. His son Francis inherited as a minor in 1771, and when he finally came of age in 1783 he was sent abroad with a tutor for his Grand Tour.²⁵⁰ On his return he was apparently pleasantly surprised that his grandmother had made arrangements to give up Woburn to him, as he had expected some resistance. He was then able to begin the modifications to Woburn to suit his own requirements. He had the offices on the south side transformed into a grand enfilade of rooms by Henry Holland, with the creation of a new library and the old library being transformed into a new room for dining.²⁵¹ It was into this room that the substantial collection of Canalettos was hung in 1790 by the 5th Duke, having been previously installed at Bedford House by the 4th Duke. The north rooms were largely abandoned, and the main entrance was transferred from the imposing West front to the East front. It was likely to have been these changes, which involved major re-hanging and ordering of pictures that inspired the commission of Horace Walpole to write his catalogue of paintings published a year later.

Later, John Russell was apparently grief-stricken at the death of his brother, Francis, at an unexpectedly young age.²⁵² Several examples of the 6th Duke's attempts to defend his brother's reputation have been described elsewhere, which show his dedication to his brother's memory.²⁵³ It seems likely that his patronage of the next guide to Woburn was partly influenced by a motivation for a memorial as the book contains several references to the preceding Duke. It also came after a family trip to Rome where he commissioned a version of *The Three Graces* from Antonio Canova, but was unsuccessful in extending the commission to include a sculpture of his late

²⁴⁹ J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (London: Longman and Co., Woburn: S. Dodd & Brighton: F. Wright, 1831) & P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827).

²⁵⁰ G. Blakiston, *Woburn and the Russells*, (London: Constable and Company Ltd, 2000), pp. 147- 154, [1980].

²⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 155.

²⁵² *Ibid*, pp. 172-4.

²⁵³ *Ibid*.

brother.²⁵⁴ He bought several sculptures, and then back in England had Jeffrey Wyatt (who later changed his name to Wyatville) extend the sculpture gallery to accommodate them. Other alterations at the property included an improvement to the grounds by Humphry Repton, with a new approach from London. In the same year as the completion of this work and the extension of the sculpture gallery by Wyatt, Stephen Dodd wrote and published his guide to Woburn Abbey. This would be followed by three more guides before the 6th Duke's death in 1839. It can be seen that building works at Woburn, along with additions to the collections were shortly followed by published guides, both the single catalogue commissioned by the 5th Duke, and the more extensive flurry of publications under the patronage of the 6th Duke.²⁵⁵ The authorship and contents of these books will now be described before examining them in more detail.

The guides: authors and patrons

Horace Walpole was a pioneer of guidebook writing having completed books about his father's property at Houghton Hall 1747 and about his own property at Strawberry Hill in 1774.²⁵⁶ The first of these was one of the first catalogues of a country house collection, and listed the paintings.²⁵⁷ The later guide to his own property was more descriptive of the house interior and exterior as well as comprising a list of the collections.²⁵⁸ It was perhaps this experience which prompted the 5th Duke to select his friend Walpole to produce a catalogue of the pictures at Woburn Abbey.²⁵⁹

The first more comprehensive published description of Woburn Abbey was published by Stephen Dodd, and printed by S. Manning of Newport. It is possible that this venture prompted Dodd to move into printing himself, as he is listed as a printer at

²⁵⁴ Jackson-Stops, *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, pp. 541-2.

²⁵⁵ See appendix: Woburn Abbey.

²⁵⁶ See A. Chalcraft & J. Viscardi, *Strawberry Hill: Horace Walpole's Gothic Castle*, (London: Francis Lincoln Ltd, 2007) & M. Snodin (ed.), *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*.

²⁵⁷ H. Walpole, *Aedes Walpolianae: or, a description of the collection of pictures at Houghton-Hall in Norfolk, the seat of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford*, (London, 1747).

²⁵⁸ H. Walpole, *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole, Youngest Son of Sir Robert Walpole Earl of Orford, at Strawberry Hill near Twickenham, Middlesex. With an inventory of the Furniture, Pictures, Curiosities, & c.* (Strawberry Hill: Thomas Kirgate, 1784).

²⁵⁹ *Catalogue of the Portraits in the collection of John Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey*, (London: Printed by James Moyes, 1834), p. vi.

1-3 Market Place in Woburn in 1839 and 1847.²⁶⁰ As the publisher, Dodd assembled the contents from sources at Woburn, but it seems that he was the editor rather than the author and he credits a variety of sources. He thanks the Duke of Bedford for supplying the catalogue of paintings, he is grateful for 'the kindness of the individual' who provided the memoirs of the late Duke and the descriptions of the 'Evergreens, Thornery &c.' and he thanks 'another gentleman for his gratuitous compilation of all the rest'.²⁶¹ The work is dedicated to 'Their Graces the Duke and Duchess of Bedford', and so it would at the very least have received their approval. It is uncertain whether the project was initiated by Dodd or the Duke, but it the book would have offered the potential for profit for the local publisher wishing to establish his business.

Robinson's luxurious folio book and Parry's more modest guide both extended their descriptions of the property beyond catalogues of the paintings or marbles.²⁶² They were each written by authors who were attempting to develop their reputations as serious writers. Robinson was a prolific architect who complemented his career with a range of publications which focused on the architectural merits of properties, and he wrote *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey* in the year after he became a fellow of the Society of Arts.²⁶³ His book on Woburn clearly stirred some interest among fellow architects, among the subscribers were some other leading architects, including Augustus Pugin and Sir Jeffrey Wyattville (who was probably interested as he had extended the sculpture gallery at Woburn).²⁶⁴ Docwra Parry had more local links and affiliations: he was the son of the vicar of Woburn, John Parry, and followed his father's example by taking orders and becoming a curate in 1827.²⁶⁵ A book of annual accounts statements from 1812 to 1817 in the Woburn archives, records the receipt of an annual payment of £105 by J. Parry of the Bedford estates; this not only shows the strong links between the Duke and the local church, but also demonstrates the direct link between

²⁶⁰ Bedford Borough Council, '1-3 Market Place', *Bedford Borough Council, Records and Archives*, at: <http://www.bedfordshire.gov.uk/CommunityAndLiving/ArchivesAndRecordOffice/CommunityArchives/Woburn/1To3MarketPlaceWoburn.aspx> [accessed 12.05.13].

²⁶¹ Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity*, p. ix.

²⁶² Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey*, & Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*.

²⁶³ S. Brindle, *Peter Frederick Robinson*, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23862?docPos=1> [accessed 17 September 2012].

²⁶⁴ Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey*, subscribers list.

²⁶⁵ G. Goodwin & Rev. J. Potier, 'John Docwra Parry' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21422>, [accessed 22 May 2013].

the Duke and Docwra Parry's father.²⁶⁶ Docwra Parry was also a topographer with several publications to his name, including *Select Illustrations, Historical and Topographical, of Bedfordshire*.²⁶⁷ His proven capacity as a writer of local topography combined with his links to Woburn Abbey as son of the vicar are likely reasons why he was approached to write about the house; Stephen Dodd, who was again the publisher, acknowledges the patronage of the Duke of Bedford.²⁶⁸ Unfortunately Docwra Parry's writing career was not ultimately lucrative, and he died in penury in Brighton.²⁶⁹

It is difficult to determine the extent to which the Duke of Bedford had direct input into the contents of the guides; it is likely he had at least some. A letter from the 6th Duke to his son Lord George Russell gives an insight into the self-consciousness of the impact that overt authorship might potentially have on his reputation. He wrote to his son that he was pleased for Jeremiah Wiffen to be the acknowledged author of a two volume history of the Russell family rather than himself, because then 'No vanity or puffing off the antiquity or deeds of my ancestors can be ascribed to me'.²⁷⁰ The need for humility meant that he was keen to distance himself from the publication, and he goes on to write, rather unconvincingly, 'Wiffen is wholly unconnected with me, except for the accidental circumstance of his being my librarian'.²⁷¹ This keenness to avoid accusations of self-aggrandizement, suggests that the Duke may have had greater involvement in other publications about Woburn than he was willing to acknowledge. The issue of modesty might have motivated many other country house owners to downplay their involvement in the authorship of guides about their property: it is likely many more were involved than has hitherto been acknowledged.

By the time of publication of these early nineteenth-century books, Woburn had its own, particularly sumptuous, famed, 'Red Book' by Humphry Repton. It is known that Repton used these 'Red Books' to assist his own career. Firstly, he used parts of the text and illustrations from his 'Red Book' of Woburn in his other publications, such

²⁶⁶ *Annual Accounts for the years 1812-1817*, Bedford Estate Archives, Woburn Abbey, Box number 7/36/4, by kind permission of the Duke of Bedford and the Trustees of the Bedford Estate.

²⁶⁷ J.D. Parry, *Select Illustrations, Historical and Topographical, of Bedfordshire*, (London: Longman and Co., 1827).

²⁶⁸ Parry, *Select Illustrations, Historical and Topographical, of Bedfordshire*, p. vii.

²⁶⁹ Godwin & Poitier, *John Docwra Parry*.

²⁷⁰ G. W. Russell & J. Russell, 6th Duke of Bedford, 'Letter to Lord G. William Russell 1822', *Letters to Lord G. William Russell 1817-1845*, vol. 1, (London: Chiswick Press, for private circulation, 1915), p. 190.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

as *Fragments on Landscape Gardening, with some Remarks on Grecian and Gothic Architecture*.²⁷² As well as helping to promote his name and work, the presence of a 'Red Book' in the library may have gone some way towards stimulating a market for the commission of luxury books on the subject of the owner's house and estate for the library (see figure 54). Thirdly, he intended it as a luxury volume to grace the library, which might potentially be seen by visitors with country estates in need of developing.²⁷³ Certainly at Woburn, the impressive catalogue of the marbles and the huge folio *Vitruvius*, as well as the more modest guidebooks, followed on from the 'Red Book' and might have been partly inspired by it.

The look of the library as well as the quality of the contents was a subject on which the 6th Duke received advice. In a letter he received from a J.H. Harthouse in 1816, the subject of the aesthetic appeal of the library is mentioned. The author advises the Duke to make sure that his library contains 'a sprinkling of nice books, good books carefully bound' and that the appearance of the books adds to the 'elegance' of the room, and his advice aims at producing the appearance of 'good taste' (see figure 55).²⁷⁴ The author moves on to the question of the contents of the book collection, and writes:

After history of our area County, Topography is the most legitimate subject to engage the interest of a country gentleman, especially those books that relate to his own county or district in which he possesses estates. On this point your Grace's library ought to be well furnished. County histories are books of enduring value and will always be looked into.²⁷⁵

The author continues by informing the Duke that architecture was an area that interest 'has latterly been much turned to'. It is probably no coincidence that the Duke received this letter less than two years before the publication of the first guidebook to Woburn Abbey; he will have realised that his collection of county and local histories could be well supplemented with books on his own property and vicinity. Woburn's own inclusion in county histories will be examined at the end of this chapter, after further analysis of the guides themselves.

²⁷² H. Repton, *Fragments on Landscape Gardening*.

²⁷³ S. Daniels, *Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 170-180, [1999].

²⁷⁴ J.H. Harthouse, *Letter to John, 6th Duke of Bedford, October 6, 1816*, Bedford Estate Archives, Woburn Abbey, NAR 3/22/4.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

A second use of the books on Woburn, as well as for potentially adding to the elegance of its own library, was for use as gifts to friends and associates. A letter from the 6th Duke to his son, George William, referred to his intention to send of a copy of the illustrated marbles catalogue of 1822 to the King of Prussia, when it 'is properly bound'.²⁷⁶ He refers to the unsolicited gift in a few other letters to his son, clearly proud of his sculpture collection, and of the large illustrated guide to it. He finally resigned himself to a lack of review or specific comment on the book from the King of Prussia, concluding that he has perhaps not read it, as 'Kings and Princes are not literary men'.²⁷⁷ A year later the 6th Duke sent his son a copy of John Docwra Parry's guide to Woburn, explaining that he thought George William already had one.²⁷⁸ This shows that books about Woburn were sent to family members also, and it was not just the prestigious books that served this purpose; the Parry guide was very portable and seems aimed at the tourist-visitor.

Contents as 'virtue' and memorial

Three of the guidebooks under discussion focus solely on the painting collections at Woburn; Tim Clayton has argued that the publication of picture catalogues were used as a way used to encourage the arts.²⁷⁹ It is noticeable that in the Woburn Abbey catalogues the focus of text under each painting is not on the artist or even on any particular quality of the painting, but rather on the biography of the individual contained within the portrait. It was not until George Scharf, Director of the National Portrait Gallery, published a book on the Woburn collections in 1877 that there would be a focus on the artist as well as on the portrait subjects.²⁸⁰ This emphasis on the biography of the portrait subject is in line with most of the other catalogues in the larger sample discussed in this thesis. The biographical details included tended to involve character analysis, and this method is partly explained in the Woburn catalogue of 1834, written,

²⁷⁶ 'Letter from John 6th Duke of Bedford to George William Russell, April 6 1836', in *Letters to Lord G. William Russell 1817-1845*, vol. 3,) pp. 162-3.

²⁷⁷ 'Letter from John 6th Duke of Bedford to George William Russell, June 17 1836', in *Letters to Lord G. William Russell 1817-1845*, vol. 3, p. 174.

²⁷⁸ 'Letter from John 6th Duke of Bedford to George William Russell, March 21, 1837', in *Letters to Lord G. William Russell 1817-1845*, vol. 3, p. 206.

²⁷⁹ T. Clayton, *The English Print, 1688-1802*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 167.

²⁸⁰ G. Scharf, *A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Woburn Abbey*, (London: Bradbury Agnew, 1877).

the text states, for private distribution. The author writes: ‘....they serve to revive the recollections of past actors on the busy stage of life, and to bring back before the eye or mind, the outward aspect of the times in which they flourished’.²⁸¹ The text implies a kind of nostalgia and an understanding or experience of the history of the property through identification with or assessment of characters from that past. The tradition of the use of portraiture as a moral example has been outlined from the mid-fifteenth century onwards, with the reality of the sitter’s appearance being tempered with elements which would aim to convey his moral character.²⁸²

The emphasis on the biography of the portrait subject is another way of again promoting the lineage and continuity of the family in residence through the visible evidence of the ancestors, with implications for a justification of the right to a continuation of this status in the future. This fits in with the role of portraiture as underpinning the ‘aristocratic ideology’.²⁸³ The Woburn guidebook author goes on to suggest the potential benefits of such reflection on these portraits, and writes: ‘And when a great man’s bust arrests thee there Pause – and his features with his thoughts compare’.²⁸⁴ Walpole’s catalogue list of 1791 followed the same ethos. He highlighted honour and wisdom as key attributes for those male subjects of portraits that he felt worthy of compliment. He thus described Sir Nicholas Bacon as ‘wise and worthy’ and Henry Danvers as ‘dignified’. His praise of the women in the portraits involves appreciation of more ‘feminine’ characteristics, such as the ‘piety, regularity, dignity and human wisdom’ of Christiana, Countess of Devonshire, as well as of her ‘affability and sweet nature’.²⁸⁵ He equally does not hold back from blunt criticism of several of the women. Anne of Denmark is described as: ‘a woman content with shew and pleasure, who had no credit with her husband, nor appears to have asked for or deserved any’.²⁸⁶ Lucy, the wife of Edward Earl of Bute is described as ‘a lavish patroness of the less opulent wits’ and that the estate was ‘impaired by her

²⁸¹ *Catalogue of the Portraits in the Collection of John, Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey*, (London: printed by James Moyes, 1834), p. vi.

²⁸² J. Woodall, ‘Introduction’, in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject*, J. Woodall (ed.), (Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 1-23.

²⁸³ Woodall, ‘Introduction’, in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject*, p. 3.

²⁸⁴ *Catalogue of the Portraits in the Collection of John, Duke of Bedford*, p. viii.

²⁸⁵ Walpole, *Notes to the Portraits at Woburn Abbey*, p. 9.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 13.

ostentation'.²⁸⁷ It is perhaps not surprising that the greatest praise is reserved for members of the family, with the 5th Duke of Bedford as commissioner of the book described as 'so wise and temperate a man', and his father is described as possessed of 'genuine honour, generosity and every amiable virtue'.²⁸⁸

The later catalogue of Woburn portraits, which focussed on miniatures, shows an equal emphasis on the character of those portrayed. It is a method of representation which was designed to encourage the viewer to reflect on and to be inspired by characters from the past. The author is also overt in his aim to use this method of publication as a means to create a family history, and he writes: 'It is chiefly a compilation from various authorities of facts related to the individuals presented; and is intended as a short history of the members of the Russell family, in a direct lineal descent from the first Earl to the possessor of the title'.²⁸⁹ He wrote at length on the qualities of Francis, the late 5th Duke of Bedford, and so in common with most of the other Woburn guides there is a strong element of memorial.²⁹⁰

The emphasis in all three of the picture catalogues for Woburn, from 1791 to 1834, is also on the merits and virtues of the characters portrayed, and was seen as a method for bringing history alive, for creating inspiration for learning from the example of others and as a means of highlighting the family lineage and hence the family's historic and continuing worth.

The sculpture galleries

The sculpture collection at Woburn was extensive, and the descriptions of each item had a particular emphasis in the catalogues. The marbles were a combination of some ancient artefacts as well as newly-commissioned objects, which reflected both the 5th and 6th Dukes' known taste for contemporary sculpture.²⁹¹ The textual narrative in the guide, followed the stories of the ancients depicted, and implied a right to rule not only through this association with ancient authority, but by the expression of good taste

²⁸⁷ Walpole, *Notes to the Portraits at Woburn Abbey*, p. 5.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 12, p.7 & p. 4 & p.5

²⁸⁹ *A Catalogue of Miniature Portraits in Enamel by Henry Bone Esq. in the Possession of the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey*, (London: W. Nicol, Shakspeare Press, 1825), p. v.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid*, pp 61-63.

²⁹¹ M. Baker, *Figured in Marble*, (London: V. & A Publications, 2000), pp. 159-168 & C. Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, (Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 186-7.

that the sculpture gallery represented. To highlight the good judgement which had led to this collection of good taste, there was a description of the circumstances under which each of the Dukes acquired each marble, either by on the spot purchase or pre-conceived commission.

The guides of 1818 and 1831 were both guidebooks in a more modern sense of the word. They included a room by room description, a history of the property and family, and a contextualisation of the Abbey by description of the nearby town and surrounding area; both were aimed at the tourist-visitor. By contrast, the huge folio volume as part of Peter Robinson's *Vitruvius Britannicus* series was too large to be aimed at the visiting tourist, and was intended as a substantial luxury volume to grace the library. The author did not include the extensive family histories as the other guides did, and the only comments on character or virtue were to mention William, Lord Russell in the context of the Civil War, and to write that 'the very mention of whose name is sufficient eulogy'.²⁹² His only more direct reference to individual virtue was reserved for Lord Russell's wife, whose letters: '....exhibit in her character a rare union of the virtues which should mark the wife, the mother, the heroine, the Christian'.²⁹³

The bulk of Robinson's text focussed on the monastic history of Woburn Abbey, a description of the visit of Queen Elizabeth and a description of the existing structure and contents. As an architect, Robinson was more interested in a survey of the property as it existed at the time of writing, rather than an architectural development; he noted only that most of the structural changes were made after 1744. The contrast between the two uses of the property, monastic and domestic, are therefore juxtaposed with no sense of a bridge between the two.

A key aspect of the books about the house, and especially prominent in the first by Dodd, is that of memorial. It has been shown that in the months following Francis's death, John sought to defend his brother from certain criticisms.²⁹⁴ An example was a critical pamphlet published by John Bowles about a speech of Francis's in the House of Commons, which apparently caused the succeeding Duke some distress. Francis died in 1802, and Dodd's *Historical and Topographical Account*, first published in 1818

²⁹² Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey*, p. 11.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Blakiston, *Woburn and the Russells*, p. 173.

includes a comprehensive eulogy for him. It notes a bust of Francis in the Duke's study, with the quote:

An incorruptible integrity of soul,
Nor bribes might win, nor menaces control,
Sister austere of Justice! Swayed his youth;
Mild Modesty and all transparent Truth
Centred in him their rays – but when, O when
Shall such, Marcellus-like arise again?²⁹⁵

It is a quote centred in the grief of a brother, but it also expresses the disinterested ideal of the country aristocrat, and makes a case for this ideal as a reality. The conclusion of the eulogy, which is some ten pages long, makes a case from the lasting impact of the influence of dead ancestors:

And of the dead will fancy deem
Their shades are vocal still,
Their voice upon the murmuring stream,
Their footsteps on the hill!
This solace let not reason chide,
That thus, the Great, the Deified
Are reproduced at will.²⁹⁶

By the time of the publication of Docwra Parry's guide thirteen years later, the impact of the 5th Duke's untimely end had perhaps dimmed somewhat, and the family history is more evenly spread across all of the preceding Dukes: there is also the addition of a section on the Gordon family, into which the 6th Duke had married. Although the Russell family history covers 54 pages of text in this latter guide, the author notes that Mr. Wiffen, librarian to the Duke of Bedford, was in the process of preparing 'an ample memoir of the family' as a separate volume, demonstrating that lineage was becoming no less important for the aristocracy during the first half of the nineteenth century.²⁹⁷ The trend continued with a memorial to Francis 5th Duke in the miniatures catalogue of 1825.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity*, p. 104.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

²⁹⁷ Parry, *Select Illustrations, Historical and Topographical, of Bedfordshire*, p. 69.

²⁹⁸ Bone, *A Catalogue of Miniature Portraits in Enamel*, pp 61-63.

Reviews of the publications

The two guidebooks which were intended for the consumption by the general public, those by Dodd and Parry, both received reviews in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, a key publication of the day founded in 1731 by Edward Cave.²⁹⁹ Both received criticisms for minor errors and for omissions, and the emphasis on omissions from and achievements in the writing of family history shows that this aspect of the guidebook was considered key in the period. The reviewer to Dodd's guide notes that 'A list of incumbents has most unaccountably been omitted', but finds the memoir of the late Duke of Bedford to be the best section in the book.³⁰⁰ The reviewer of Parry's guide likewise finds the family history to be 'well compiled'.³⁰¹ There is a pertinent comment on the expectations of the day in guidebooks, when the author of the earlier review quotes Laurence Sterne's novel *Tristram Shandy* to state the ideals of the genre. He writes:

Had the Editor even perused the Life of Tristram Shandy, he would have learnt in what his duty consists, viz. that he "has Various accounts to reconcile – Anecdotes to pick up – *Inscriptions* to make out – stories to weave in – Traditions to sift – Personages to call upon – Panegyrics to paste up at this door – Pasquinades at that".³⁰²

The quote refers to the ideals for a historiographer, and emphasises the importance of examining the characters of individuals from history and of creating a narrative; in this sense the reviewer finds Dodd to be lacking in spite of the family history contained in the book.

It was typical of reviews of guidebooks in *The Gentleman's Magazine* to contain at least one comment on how the publication could have been improved, although not generally as negative as the preceding reviews. A review of John Britton's guide to Sir John Soane's house at Lincoln's Inn Fields is critical for the lack of context and 'local character', and later noted that Britton's description of the interior gave 'too brief remarks'.³⁰³ The most glowing praise, however, was reserved for Peter Robinson,

²⁹⁹ E. L. de Montluzin, *Daily Life in Georgian England as Reported in the Gentleman's Magazine*, (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002).

³⁰⁰ J.M. 'Review of New Publications: Historical and Topographical Account of Woburn, its Abbey, and Vicinity, Dodd, Woburn, *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 132, July, 1820, p. 46.

³⁰¹ 'Review – Parry's History of Woburn', *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 151, February 1832, p. 145.

³⁰² J.M. 'Review of New Publications, July 1820.

³⁰³ 'Review of New Publications: The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting Exemplified by a Series of Illustrations of the House and Galleries of John Soane, Professor of Architecture in the Royal Academy, F.R.S. and S.A., Architect to the Bank of England, by John Britton F.S.A., F.R.S.L. & Co., *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 142, August 1827, p. 129 & 130.

whose *Vitruvius Britannicus* for Hatfield House was described as ‘a splendid work’.³⁰⁴ The reviewer further considered that future works by Robinson were ‘very likely to be illustrated with a degree of eloquence and accuracy commensurate with the excellence of their subject’.³⁰⁵ The unreserved praise seems to have had a side agenda, for the review author then makes an appeal for patronage from other country house owners to help fund the cost of such lavish volumes.

Qualities of the owner as represented in the country estate

The establishment of value as a characteristic of an owner-family of a country estate potentially served as supporting evidence for the right to rule. Dana Arnold has stressed this as key motivation in the representation of the country house in the period: ‘The metaphorical function of the country house can be identified as it being a symbol of the power and wealth of the landowner and more broadly the social, cultural and political hegemony of the ruling class’.³⁰⁶

One central feature of assessing and establishing value amongst the aristocracy during the period, was by the use of the quality of virtue. In the three books which involve descriptions of the family of Russell and of the house interiors, there are many mentions of the virtues of the Russells, especially of their sense of charity. Dodd described the family in poetry as a celestial force for good which offers benevolent protection. He wrote:

The star of RUSSELL lingers near
And other Pleiads shine
Devoted in the stormiest night
To shed around us their guiding light.³⁰⁷

He considered that his lengthy ‘Memoirs of the Russell family’ provided examples and role models for the less enlightened reader who would ‘find a subject alike of interesting associations and elevated thought’.³⁰⁸ The many charitable acts of the family are referred to, such as a free school in the village which was funded by Francis 5th

³⁰⁴ ‘Review of New Publications: Vitruvius Britannicus: The History of Hatfield House, by Peter Robinson, Architect, F.A.S., F.G.S.’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, vol. 153, June 1833, pp. 524-5.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Arnold, *Reading Architectural History*, p. 141.

³⁰⁷ Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity*, p. 104.

³⁰⁸ Ibid, p. viii.

Duke of Bedford, with continued assistance for its upkeep of £50 per annum donated by his brother the 6th Duke, in addition to annual donations to the poor.³⁰⁹ The heroic deeds of former Russells were also eulogised in glowing terms, such as William Russell's support for the King during the English Civil War, which ultimately cost him his life.³¹⁰ Dodd quoted a poem by 'an inhabitant' who immortalises Lord Russell's actions in defence of the King:

The Magog-sway of State and Law,
A despot in disguise,
The eagle-eye of Freedom saw,
And bade her RUSSELL rise.
No satellite – no satrap he,
To crouch or bend the pliant knee;
Firm, self-respecting, wise
He stript away the specious veil:
Patriot he rose, and martyr fell.³¹¹

The house of Russell is thus described as unbiased and independent in thought, free from subservience, but most significantly being called upon to act by the principle of 'Freedom'.

The guide by John Docwra Parry similarly listed many noble and heroic deeds of the Russell ancestry, such as the bravery of William Lord Russell in 1580 and his part in suppressing a rebellion in Ireland.³¹² He followed Dodd in eulogising the Royalist martyr Lord William Russell, whom he describes as: 'The sad victim of his virtuous design of preserving our liberties and constitution from the attempts of as an abandoned a set of men as ever governed these kingdoms. True patriotism, not ambition, nor interest, directed his intentions'.³¹³ Parry also elaborated on the charitable donations of the Dukes of Bedford, and especially of the 6th Duke, detailing, for example, his founding of an almshouse, and his endowment to it of 30 pounds per annum.³¹⁴

³⁰⁹ Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity*, p. 25 & p. 29.

³¹⁰ L.G. Scwhoerer, 'William Russell, Lord Russell', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24344?docPos=16> [accessed 29 May 2013].

³¹¹ Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity*, p. 96.

³¹² Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, p. 78.

³¹³ *Ibid*, p. 95.

³¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 149.

The monastic history of the Abbey was harnessed by both Dodd and Docwra Parry to enhance rather than detract from the virtues of the Russell family. Dodd justified the re-allocation of monastic property during the dissolution of the monasteries, on the grounds of monastic corruption. He writes that: ‘monasteries were too frequently the nurseries of superstition and idleness, even of vice’.³¹⁵ It was therefore considered an improvement to have granted Woburn to a noble family who would correct the errors of the monks whilst retaining their virtues. He wrote of the charitable duties of a monastery, continued by the Russell family due to their inherent noble qualities: ‘In the family of Russell, charity and hospitality are hereditary virtues, but this is not the case with every family which obtained grants of church property’.³¹⁶ He also noted that prayers continued to be said every day in the hall.³¹⁷ Docwra Parry opted not to ‘search carefully and rigidly for every appearance of evil’ amongst the monks, although acknowledges their undoubted failings.³¹⁸ He went on to quote a poem which asks ‘Commerce and Learning’ to forgive monks their errors: the final stanza pities the ‘virgin victim’ of the monks, a charge of abuse which the author concludes might not have happened in England, but sometimes in Italy or Spain.

In contrast to the other Woburn books, Peter Robinson’s *Vitruvius Britannicus* on Woburn had a different focus. The first ten pages of text explore the monastic history of Woburn, and there is again a justification of the dissolution of the monasteries, this time with a lengthy explanation of the Abbot of Woburn’s failing in not accepting Henry VIII as supreme head of the Church in England. The Abbey was ‘resigned’ into the King’s hands, but following a later rebellion the Abbot was brought back to Woburn and hanged on an oak tree.³¹⁹ It is not until page eleven that there is mention of the Russell family: Queen Elizabeth’s visit on her progress is described, followed by reference to the English Civil War. William Russell’s martyrdom receives only passing comment, as already discussed.³²⁰ The remaining text in *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey* consists of a room by room description of the main rooms on view to ‘strangers’, with a catalogue of the principle paintings and sculptures. The

³¹⁵ Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity*, p. 42.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³¹⁸ Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, p. 62.

³¹⁹ Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey*, p. 10.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

lack of family history thus marks a difference from the Dodd and Docwra Parry guides, and is supplemented instead by an extensive more ancient history before the Abbey became Russell property.

The issue of virtue extended beyond the strict definition of guidebooks. Another book which makes claims of virtue, is one of the guides to the plants at Woburn jointly written by the 6th Duke himself and his gardener.³²¹ The text makes use of several biblical quotes to infuse even the trees at Woburn with a sense of virtue. There is reference, for example, to David who compares his chosen people to ‘the goodly cedar tree’ and of the cedar in Lebanon ‘all the trees of Eden that were in the garden of God, envied him’.³²² A sense is thus conveyed of the estate as almost divinely paradisial, adding a religious element to the virtues of the estate and owner. The longevity of the tree is further linked to the continuity of the family with the ancient features of both referred to in the same paragraphs; and the Duke attributed his love of the pine tree as inherited from his grandfather.³²³

The country estate as an expression of taste

One quality linked to virtue in the period, and already mentioned in relation to the sculpture collection, was that of taste, which was often considered to be inherent in the aristocrat. It was therefore a sense of discrimination which the aristocracy could convey to the other members of the populace through the viewing or representation of their property. Frans de Bruyn’s comment on Edmund Burke is a useful starting point here: he ‘..repeatedly invokes taste as an indispensable moral touchstone, a test of the individual’s fitness for the exercise of political power.....judgement must accompany sensibility in any true act of aesthetic perception’.³²⁴

Taste involved judgement, and so evidence of the former in the observable structure and contents of the country estate, had implications for the latter and for the aristocrat’s right to rule. Dodd thus describes the ‘loftiness grandeur and elegance of

³²¹ J. Forbes & John, Duke of Bedford, *Pinetum Woburnense; or, a catalogue of coniferous plants, in the collection of the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey*, (London, 1833) .

³²² Forbes & Duke of Bedford, *Pinetum Woburnense*, p. 2.

³²³ Ibid, p. vii.

³²⁴ Bruyn, *The Literary Genres of Edmund Burke*, p. 122.

furniture' and the 'tasteful pleasure grounds'.³²⁵ He summarised his impressions of the entire property by writing of: 'the taste and beauty which distinguish this noble demesne'.³²⁶ For Docwra Parry the grounds were 'tasteful and pretty' with a selection of 'tasteful rustic buildings' such as the aviary.³²⁷ Taste is referred to less obviously in the painting and sculpture catalogues, but the implication of publishing books describing the content of the collections adds weight to their value and to the discernment involved in creating and developing the collections. It can be seen from his letters that the 6th Duke of Bedford himself was proud of the taste which he felt his estate showed. He claimed that during a stay at Woburn, the famous French politician Talleyrand repeated the following phrase to everyone he met on the subject of the view of the basin pond from the house: '*On ne peut pas disputer les goût (sic)*'.³²⁸

Eighteenth-century literature reveals the extent of the importance of the display of taste through a man's property and its relevance in forming an opinion of him based on this evidence. In *Pride and Prejudice*, Elizabeth Bennett's opinion of Darcy is famously altered by her impressions of Pemberley.³²⁹ Eighteenth-century French architect Germain Bouffrand made this connection even more overt in his instruction in a treatise to 'judge the master for whom the house was built by the way in which it is planned, decorated and distributed'.³³⁰ The link between taste and personal worth during this period has been summarised with reference to a variety of contexts.³³¹ The

³²⁵ Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity*, p. 46 & p. 66.

³²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 71.

³²⁷ 'You can't dispute the taste', & Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, p. 299 & p. 302.

³²⁸ 'Letter from the 6th Duke to Lord G. William Russell, March 21, 1836', in *Letters to Lord G. William Russell 1817-1845*, vol. 3, p. 180.

³²⁹ J. Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, (London: Penguin, [1813], 1996), p. 236.

³³⁰ G. Bouffrand, *Book of Architecture: Containing the General Principles of the Art*, ed. by C. van Eyck, trans. by D. Britt, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 6.

³³¹ For examples in the French interior see: M. Martin, 'The Ascendancy of the Interior in Eighteenth-Century French Architectural Theory', in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed by D.A. Baxter and M. Martin, (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), pp. 15- 34; on the contradictions in taste and identity in women see: Sloboda, Stacey, 'Fashioning Bluestocking Conversation: Elizabeth Montagu's Chinese Room', in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed by Baxter and Martin, pp. 129-148; on the link between taste and the English interior see: Brewer, Daniel, '(Re)Constructing an Eighteenth-Century Interior: The Value of Interiority on Display', in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed by Baxter and Martin, pp. 215-232; for a review of taste and the country estate see M. Clarke & N. Penney, *The Arrogant Connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight 1751-1824*, (Manchester University Press, 1982), especially pp. 32-49; on the newly developing fashionable taste see Greig, *The Beau Monde*, pp. 1-31; on Humphrey Repton and the development of tastes with reference to the country estate see: S. Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States*, (Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 81-111; on

potential for the judgement of a gentleman through the display of his property and its contents adds an extra motivation in the owners' desire to represent this taste and discernment through the genre of the country house guidebook. Further motivation can be seen in the desire of the wealthy to be seen as exemplars of taste and to educate others. An example is Walter Ramsden Fawkes and his use of his London house as a public gallery of art from 1819 which has been discussed by Anne Nellis Richter as being opened with the goal of improving public taste.³³²

The surrounding area and approach to the house

The approach to the house, the extensive grounds and the overall grandeur convey a sense of importance in the country house which can only serve to impress the viewer and to create a sense of entitlement. The country house itself has usually been discussed as a potent symbol of the power and wealth of its age.³³³ Before the Abbey is even broached in the books by Dodd and Parry, however, the local vicinity is described. This serves to contextualise the Abbey as part of a community but also as the head of the local hierarchy. As the context for the Abbey, the village is described in favourable terms. Stephen Dodd concedes that the town is small, but that: 'If loyalty and decency, morality and liberality be honourable, this little town may stand firm, where loftier and prodder (sic.) ones might shrink'.³³⁴ Even the air was considered to be 'particularly salubrious' as evidenced by the low death rate in the town.³³⁵ The Abbey, established in this guide as the centre and ruling force in the community, is thus established as providing a positive role model and source of influence. Docwra Parry makes similarly positive comments regarding the 'fine and healthy air' and notes that from many points the 'view is very beautiful'.³³⁶ Both books emphasise the Russell family's charitable works in the town, emphasising the direct impact from the top of the hierarchy to the bottom. As summarised by Docwra Parry: 'We may safely assert, without fear of the

the development of taste in the eighteenth century with reference to Pope's *Epistle to Burlington* and also to the gardens at Stowe see: J. Noggle, *The Temporality of Taste in Eighteenth-Century British Writing*, (Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 40-63 & pp. 64-95.

³³² A. Richter, 'Improving Public Taste in the Private Interior: Gentlemen's Galleries in Post Napoleonic London', in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed by Baxter and Martin, pp. 169-186.

³³³ Arnold, *Reading Architectural History*, p. 141.

³³⁴ Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity*, p. 20.

³³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 29.

³³⁶ Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, p. 150 & p. 154.

accusation of flattery, that the Bedford family have not been deficient in that noble essential part of Christianity, which ‘DELIVERETH THE POOR THAT CRIETH, THE FATHERLESS, AND THOSE THAT HAVE NO HELPER’’,³³⁷

In the guidebook by Parry there are some illustrations of the surrounding area: one of the town and one of Woburn Church (see figures 56 & 57). In the former, two names of shops can be seen: ‘Cawthra’ and ‘Heighington’. Interestingly the subscribers list at the beginning of the book includes a Mr. S. Cawthra and a Mr. E., a Mr. J. and a Mr. R. Heighington: it would seem therefore that subscription to the guide allowed some perks from advertising. In the illustration of the Church a coach is emblazoned with ‘Woburn’ on the side, and is perhaps heading for the Abbey. The Church is shown heavily encased in the ivy which the Duke had planted, and it was seen earlier that the minister was on the pay roll of the Duke. Both images show orderly scenes, peopled with hard-working locals: two are unloading sacks from a cart whilst watched by a gentleman in a top hat leaning on a cane. The town is thus seen to reflect well on the Abbey in a way that is somewhat in line with Humphry Repton’s advice in the Red Book for Tatton Park, in which he recommends:

The first essential of greatness in a place, is the appearance of united and uninterrupted property...viz the church, the churchyards, may be decorated in a style that shall in some degree correspond to that of the mansion; -- the market house or other public edifice, an obelisk, or even a mere stone, with distance, may be an ornament to the town and bear the arms of the family.³³⁸

The progression described in the guides by Dodd and Parry, from village to estate, to house and finally around the house fits in with sequential sense, but also implies a hierarchy from humble village to the central crowning glory of the estate and finally of its grandest enfilade of rooms.

The impact of the property itself is enhanced in its representation in the guides, both in text and image, as surrounded by a seemingly limitless acreage. Dodd and Docwra Parry both stress the impact of the approach, which had been changed by Humphry Repton under the 6th Duke to involve a longer route through the estate thus impressing the visitor with a wider variety of views of the house and grounds.³³⁹ He apparently told his son proudly: ‘It was *I* who carried the approach from the London

³³⁷ Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, p. 149.

³³⁸ H. Repton, quoted in: Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 147.

³³⁹ Blakiston, *Woburn and the Russells*, pp. 181-2.

entrance to the west front assisted by Repton...I defy you to construct a better approach'.³⁴⁰ He went on to describe Repton as a 'coxcomb' but also a man of genius. Docwra Parry described the newly constructed approach thus:

A road winds through a handsomely wooded part of the park, and crossing a new bridge of three small arches over the basin under which is a fall of water, arrives the west front of the Abbey.³⁴¹

Although with the creation of Repton's new approach the frontage first reached was the West front, the actual entrance to the house was transferred from the West to the East front for the sake of convenience: it connected more directly with Henry Holland's new enfilade of state rooms. The visitor was therefore required to continue his passage around the south front of the house (see figure 58). There were several advantages of this less direct approach to the property from the road. The guest's first impression of Woburn would be the more impressive West front and the progression around the building allowed more of the gardens to be viewed:

The road winds pleasingly through plantations, and on an embankment between two fine pieces of water, and having passed a Tuscan lodge, and ascended a hill, about the centre of a very fine avenue of trees, which are double on each side, turns to the front and reaches the east front of the Abbey.³⁴²

Although the entrance to the building was now in the east front, it is the west front which was shown in the guides which featured illustrations.

Routes around the house

Anderson has written that guidebooks in the period offered a very controlling text; that although the implication of inclusion was present, that the route prescribed was very specific and involved the owner 'dictating' the terms under which one might visit.³⁴³ A guidebook might include a plan which showed rooms available to tour, but also those that were not available and from which the visitor was excluded. The sample of Woburn Abbey guides can be explored for routes through the house, and this gives an insight into any changes across the period. These differences will be described later in this section, but it is useful to examine a plan of the main level of the house which

³⁴⁰ Blakiston, *Woburn and the Russells*, pp. 181-2

³⁴¹ Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, p. 181.

³⁴² *Ibid*, p. 180.

³⁴³ Anderson, 'Remaking the Space', pp. 195- 212.

contains all the rooms referred to in the books, taken from Robinson's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, has been overlaid with the routes as prescribed in each of the three main guidebooks (see figure 59).

Those Woburn guides which are concerned with the collections only, do not make specific reference to the rooms in which these items were displayed. Of the remaining guides, published between 1818 and 1834, there are implications for which rooms are described and in what order, and on which rooms if any are depicted in images; these implications concern the uses of rooms and the priorities of the period. In addition there are notable differences across this period which suggest changing values, for example in the relative importance of public and private realms.

In Dodd's account of the abbey, there is description of the rooms in sequence as they are approached in an anti-clockwise progression from the northeast corner. The other guides follow a similar route, with some changes in that prescribed in Docwra Parry's description. His progression begins with entry in the West front, which then requires a walk along the corridor of the north side in order to arrive at the starting point on the northeast corner. His route describes passage through the enfilade of rooms on the west front, as in the other guides, but he bypasses the parallel gallery and continues to the breakfast room and libraries before doubling back along the inner corridor of the south wing to reach the gallery. Although his route involves covering a much greater distance for a potential visitor, there is a logic to his sequence. The visitor is spared the confusion of inter-weaving in and out of the western enfilade into the parallel gallery and the route is simpler. An additional benefit is the progression towards the largest room last of all, which is then followed by a visit to the even larger sculpture gallery in a separate building and accessed by leaving the main building of the abbey. It does show a development towards a more prescribed route by the 1830s.

Robinson's *Vitruvius Britannicus* of Woburn includes a plan of the 'principal story', thus showing the location of all the rooms listed and described by the Dodd and Parry guides. The text and interior illustrations, however, are restricted to the exhibition rooms: the gallery, the library and the sculpture gallery. The Parry guide, whilst showing a more extensive route than the *Vitruvius*, omits the Duchess's bedroom and dressing room, the Duke's study, and the housekeeper's room; these are only on the itinerary in the earlier 1818 guide by Dodd. This difference is supporting evidence for a

shift towards increased privacy across the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century which has been suggested in previous literature.³⁴⁴ Anderson has looked at plans in some country house guidebooks and has argued that the publication of these shows a willingness on the part of the owner to share aspects of his house, but that these were limited to parameters set out by the owner.³⁴⁵ The author describes the tensions involved in a desire to show the house which contrasted a similar desire for privacy; the evidence presented in this thesis from the Woburn Abbey guidebooks suggests that the desire for privacy became increasingly dominant across the period under discussion.

Illustrations: West front

The view of Woburn Abbey which is included in different forms in each of the three more extensive guides is a view of the West front. The two west front views in the smaller guides by Dodd and Parry are close up views, whereas the *Vitruvius Britannicus* of Woburn contains a very distant view of the West front, supplemented with a 2-dimensional architectural drawing (see figures 60, 61 & 62). The move of the main entrance to the East front, whilst retaining the approach towards the west front has already been discussed; as the most impressive and symmetrical façade the West front was chosen for the illustrations rather than the East front which was not depicted (the East front has since been demolished). A common element in all three views of the West front is the prevalence of deer; even the close up views of the façade show two or three deer, a prestigious marker of the country estate. The hunting of deer had long since ceased at Woburn, but their presence is a relic of the past when deer were a signal of social status. Parry devoted three pages to a discussion of the ‘fifteen hundred head of deer’, and describes it as a pastime of ‘great splendour’ and refers to the ‘royal hunt’ popular with kings.³⁴⁶ The deer were thus considered to be of continuing value, and served a practical purpose also, as they were shot by gamekeepers when required as a source of food.

The illustration of the West front included by Parry was close enough to see detail such as the rusticated brick work and carved relief in the central triangular

³⁴⁴ Anderson, ‘Remaking the Space’, pp. 195-212.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Parry, *History of Woburn*, pp.306-9.

pediment; these features are enhanced by the viewpoint slightly to the right which creates shadows (see figure 61). By contrast the images of the West front in Dodd and Robinson's guides are from much further away, with an expanse of water between the viewer and the house, and a frame of trees (see figures 60 & 62). This aspect gives a sense of the expanse of the parkland; this is particularly the case in Robinson's illustration in his *Vitruvius Britannicus*, where the house itself is very small in the central distance. It shows a view not just of the house, but of the expansive parklands around it which stretch as far as the eye can see. The estate has been discussed as an 'insulating sea of turf', which can be seen as a symbol of exclusivity which perpetuated the divisions in society.³⁴⁷

A different argument takes the phrase of the gentleman's 'goodly prospect' from the poem *The Four Seasons*, and hypothesises, by reference to the writings and speeches of Edmund Burke, that this 'prospect', with its implications of objectivity, was seen as a justification for the right to rule.³⁴⁸ The country estate owner is able to survey a boundless landscape, and by implication to possess a broad view both geographically but also in the wider sphere of general judgement. This leads to the question of the meaning of looking back at the country estate with the house ensconced in the centre: the view is not as the property owner would see it looking out, but as the viewer is looking back at the house with all its associations to the owner. This perspective allows the viewer to imagine the extent of the gentleman's prospect, but it also emphasises the house, and by implication the owner, as the centre. A clue to the potential meaning can be seen a few lines later in James Thomson's *Four Seasons*, when the poet reflects back on the property:

On every hand,
Thy villas shine. Thy country teems with wealth;
And *Property* assures it to the swain,
Pleas'd, and unweary'd in his certain toil.³⁴⁹

The house is thus seen as the producer of wealth, the moral high point which enables the lesser labourer to continue in his 'unweary'd' duty and happy in the natural order. The poet sees the social hierarchy as innate, an order as natural as the cycle of the seasons,

³⁴⁷ Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 102.

³⁴⁸ de Bruyn, *The Literary Genres of Edmund Burke*, p. 110.

³⁴⁹ J. Thomson, *Summer: A Poem*, 4th ed. (London: Printed for J. Millan, 1735), p. 31, line 545.

and just as ‘animals subsist on animals in infinite descent’.³⁵⁰ The view of a house such as Woburn, therefore, nestled in its own extensive park, is a jewel of worth which has an enabling function for the surrounding locality and for all other strata of society.

Trees in images, such as the gnarled and ancient looking tree in the foreground of the *Vitruvius* illustration, have been linked symbolically to the longevity of the family.³⁵¹ Along with the uncultivated undergrowth in the foreground, there is an inherent implication that the level of civilised order increases as the distance to the house decreases. As well as the prestigious deer, the productivity of the estate is emphasised by the lone person fishing in the foreground, as well as the opportunity for polite perambulation of the estate by the figures in the distance. There is an absence of working class figures, however, with no sign of the agricultural production that the Duke was such a keen proponent of. This omission accords with the theory that increasing divisions in society had led to a reduction in the depiction of the working classes and to the house being ‘set free from all association with toil and activity’.³⁵² Greater evidence of worker in the landscape has been seen in some earlier depictions of country houses.³⁵³ The preference was seen as being to ignore the presence of the working classes, and any potential discomfort or suggestion of divisions this might prompt.

The theme of genteel interaction is continued in the illustration of the exterior of the sculpture gallery in Robinson’s *Vitruvius Britannicus*; two women are seen to stroll along the gardens by the side of the gallery (see figure 63). The implication is of the polite and beneficial visits that might be experienced at Woburn. The use of figures in images of the country estate has been discussed in the literature as a way of making the image and hence the property, more accessible to the viewer, as a shift from the landowner’s to the viewer’s perspective.³⁵⁴ The figures in the Woburn illustrations, furthermore, are used to create a narrative of the sort of activity that could be engaged in the property; a high calibre activity of social and educational value. The use of figures can be summed up by quoting Michel de Certeau who writes of ‘the invention of daily

³⁵⁰ J. Thomson, *Spring: A Poem*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed for J. Millan, 1731), p. 16, line 155.

³⁵¹ Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 127.

³⁵² *Ibid*, p. 118.

³⁵³ Laurence, ‘Space, Status and Gender in Topographical Prints c.1660-1740’, pp. 81-94.

³⁵⁴ R. Quaintance, ‘Who’s Making the Scene? Real People in Eighteenth-Century Topographical Prints’, in *The Country and the City Revisited: England and the Politics of Culture, 1550-1850*, ed by MacLean, Gerald et al. (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 134-156.

life' in the way that space is seen to be used as a 'practiced space'.³⁵⁵ The sense of narrative thus created implies a norm, but it is one full of cultural signs and indicators.

The figures used in another illustration of the West front included by Parry imply a different sort of narrative; the figures are monks and the façade is an earlier view of Woburn (see figure 64). The use of monks in the image thus references the religious history of the abbey, and allows the viewer to imagine this aspect of the building's history with more immediacy. John Britton included the image of monks in a stained glass window at Fonthill Abbey; in that case to evoke a fictional sense of a religious past (figure 65).³⁵⁶ Brewer writes both of a 'temporal exoticism' on which such a method is founded, and also of a 'temporal exile, a fetishism of the past'.³⁵⁷ He suggests that this is designed as a distraction or escapism from the present, so that the viewer can forget about his current context. Although the Woburn image fits in with the increasing interest in the past from the early nineteenth century onwards, there is something else at work in the image. Stephen Bann has written of the assemblage of disparate elements by Walter Scott at his property at Abbotsford in order to create the sense on a consistent whole.³⁵⁸ Parry showed an illustration of Woburn which juxtaposed elements from different time periods in one space. Although the caption refers to 'Woburn in its former state', the architectural structure is not that which existed in the time of the monks, but is rather a product of the seventeenth-century improvements which had involved, for example, the adding of windows. The illustration therefore includes figures from the ancient history of the abbey, architecture from a century later (although with the implication that they are of the same era) in the context of text about the abbey at the time writing in 1831. As if in emphasis that Woburn had moved on from the ancient days of monkish superstition, both the Dodd and Parry guides included illustrations of the more recent church. Interestingly the Parry guide varies between editions in the illustration which is shown opposite the frontispiece. In the copy held at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal, the first illustration at the frontispiece is of the abbey with monks (figure 66). In other

³⁵⁵ M. de Certeau, *The Practice of everyday Life*, trans. by S.F. Randall, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 117.

³⁵⁶ J. Britton, *Graphical and Literary Illustrations of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire; with heraldical and genealogical notices of the Beckford family*, (London: Printed for the Author, 1823), pp. 12-13.

³⁵⁷ Brewer, '(Re)Constructing an Eighteenth-Century Interior', p. 215 & p. 230.

³⁵⁸ S. Bann, *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France*, (Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 108, [1984].

editions, a stained glass window from the church is the first illustration, and the exterior with monks being shown later in the volume (figure 53). As both copies have the same date of 1831, one can only hypothesise if there was an uncertainty about whether to evoke the abbey's monastic past so soon in the book, and whether or not an image related to the Church of England of the day was considered more in keeping.

In addition to illustrations of the west front and of the sculpture gallery, which contained figures and hence a sense of narrative, Robinson's *Vitruvius Britannicus* contained several two-dimensional images which were in keeping with the author's attempts at architectural survey and objectivity (for example see figure 67). As discussed earlier in the context of an increased emphasis on privacy in the period, only the interiors of the display-rooms, that is the galleries and libraries, were described in Robinson's image and text.

Illustrations: sculpture

One development at Woburn in the early nineteenth century which influenced the writing of the guidebooks was the increasing number of sculptures in the collection which necessitated enlargement of the sculpture gallery. When Stephen Dodd's guide to Woburn was published in 1818, there was mention of the sculpture gallery, with a description over two pages. The individual sculptures highlighted were the 'Lanti Vase' and the 'Apollo Belvidere'.³⁵⁹ There is a similar description in Neale's *Views of Seats* published a year later, with the sculpture gallery as yet incomplete and still referred to as 'the greenhouse'.³⁶⁰ Francis Russell, the 5th Duke of Bedford, had been a keen supporter of politician Charles Fox, and an inscription next to his bust in a 'Temple Sacred to Liberty' notes it to have been begun by Francis and completed by his brother at his dying wish.³⁶¹ This Temple is described in the subsequent guides, but by the time of John Docwra Parry's guide in 1831, there is no mention of the bust of Fox. This fits in with claims that the 6th Duke of Bedford was less concerned with the liberal associations of his brother.³⁶² In spite of the earlier use of the 'greenhouse' to house

³⁵⁹ Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity*, pp. 61-2.

³⁶⁰ J.P. Neale, *Views of Seats*, vol. 2 (London: Sherwood, Neale and Jones, 1819), unpaginated.

³⁶¹ Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity*, p. 64.

³⁶² M. Baker, *Figured in Marble*, p. 162.

sculptures highlighted in the 1818 guide, this later more extensive illustrated catalogue notes: ‘The Gallery was built in the year 1789 from Designs by Henry Holland, Esq. It was originally intended for a Green-house, and was converted to its present use, and its floor inlaid with Devonshire marble, in the year 1820’.³⁶³

A further temple at the West end was ‘at present erecting’ and so could not be described in more detail: it was to house the 6th Duke’s newly commissioned sculpture of *The Three Graces* by Antonio Canova (figure 68). The subsequent guides to Woburn were able to describe this focal sculpture once installed, and the heavily illustrated guide to the marbles published 4 years later was probably inspired by the completion of the gallery.³⁶⁴ The *Three Graces* was commissioned by the 6th Duke of Bedford on a visit to Rome in 1815, and the sculpture was completed in 1817.³⁶⁵ The guide to the Woburn marbles published shortly after in 1822, devoted seventeen pages to descriptions and illustrations of the Temple of the Graces, with in addition, a dissertation of the ‘Hymn to the Graces’ printed in the appendices (figures 69 & 70).³⁶⁶ It is the sculpture which has the most descriptive text of any in the collection, and is thus highlighted as the most important object. The anonymous author thus described *The Graces* as ‘a work of consummate skill; certainly not surpassed by any modern specimen of the art of sculpture’.³⁶⁷ The sculpture is described more specifically as true to nature, symmetrical, but with a variety of form and expression amongst the three figures. The sculptor was seen to have exhibited ‘the utmost delicacy and judgment’, and so by implication the collector himself, in having selected this most well-judged and tasteful addition to his collection, can claim those virtues of judgment and taste also.³⁶⁸

Canova’s visit to Woburn was described with extensive reflections on the sculptors’ talents, and thus the Duke of Bedford is established not only as the patron of one of the foremost artists of his day, but as deemed worthy of a personal visit from that artist.³⁶⁹ An un-dated receipt from Canova in an uncatalogued box in the Woburn archives acknowledges the payment of ‘*deux mille sequins d’or*’ which is two thousand

³⁶³ *Outline Engravings and Descriptions of the Woburn Abbey Marbles*, p. 15.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid*; see Baker, *Figured in Marble*, pp. 159-168.

³⁶⁵ *Outline Engravings and Descriptions of the Woburn Abbey Marbles*, p. 159.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 170-172, pp. 174-188 & pp. 221-237.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 175.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 176.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 181.

gold ducats.³⁷⁰ A *sequin d'or* or *zechinni* was the equivalent of roughly half of a pound sterling.³⁷¹ Canova's *Three Graces* cost 6000 *zechinni* or about £3000, and so the receipt probably represents a deposit or final payment.³⁷²

The Three Graces was situated in the temple constructed specifically for the sculpture, a circular structure which was lit by the dome overhead, and intended to be viewed from the entrance doorway of this area, rather than by entry into it (pictured before being removed in 1990: figure 68).³⁷³ It was unusual for a sculpture to be the whole *raison d'être* of a room, rather than its usual purpose of being an item of subsidiary décor. The sculpture, thus in an altar-like central location of a purpose-built room, was intended for deep observation and almost even worship. The two main illustrations of *the Three Graces* depicted the sculpture from the front and from behind, thus showing the all-round view that was meant to be enjoyed (figures 69). Although the aim was to look at the sculpture from all angles, facilitated by the revolving top part of the plinth, the observer was not meant to enter the small circular room, but to observe from the doorway; a sense of distance and awe was thus preserved.

The sculptures at Woburn were a key aspect of the general guidebooks, and also had their own substantial, lavishly illustrated guide. The Duke's pride in his sculpture collection is evidenced by this and by other indications already mentioned, such as in his letters. This shows that sculpture continued to be a prestigious aristocratic pastime and a key marker of aristocratic status in the period.

Public and Private Space

Dana Arnold refers to Henri LeFèbvre's analysis of the representation of lived space in an urban context, and hypothesises that the same theory can be applied to the country

³⁷⁰ *Receipt from Antonio Canova*, Bedford Estate Archives, Woburn Abbey, Box ref. 6D-ART-154, by kind permission of the Duke of Bedford and the Trustees of the Bedford Estate.

³⁷¹ A. Galignani, *Traveller's Guide Through Italy, or, a Comprehensive View of the Antiquities and Curiosities of that Classical and Interesting Country containing Sketches of Manners, Society and Customs, An Itinerary of Distances in Posts and English Mile, Best Inns etc. with a Minute Description of Florence, Milan, Naples, Rome, Venice etc. And Their Environs* (Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1824), p. 34 [1819].

³⁷² 'The Three Graces', *Victoria and Albert Museum website at:* <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O70425/the-three-graces-group-canova-antonio/> [accessed 24.06.2013].

³⁷³ Baker, *Figured in Marble*, p. 163.

house.³⁷⁴ LeFèbvre has written of lived space that this is where the ‘private realm asserts itself against the public one’.³⁷⁵ Arnold developed her theory, and argued that the depiction of the space of the country house shows the uses of architecture for ‘the performance of highly visible paternalistic displays’ which help to support the existing patrimony.³⁷⁶ There are several aspects of the patriarchy that have already been discussed as being represented in the guides. These include the charitable support of the community by the Bedfords, the general contextualisation of the Abbey as head of the local hierarchy and the extensive descriptions of the family lineage which conveyed a sense of the right to rule. There is also a sense conveyed of the family as leaders in taste and thus with an inherited capacity for making correct judgements, their collections thus acquired were depicted as being viewed by visitors who could gain moral and educational benefit from the Duke’s generosity. The qualities of the family past and present were thus seen as an example and role model for the wider local community, as well as for the visitors who made the trip to view Woburn Abbey as tourists.

The very publication of the many guides to Woburn Abbey asserted these principles by emphasising its importance: depictions of its grandeur and the benefits offered by the owners were highlighted and emphasised in their contents. The impact of Woburn as a property, and of the books which depicted it, can be seen as a negotiation between the public and the private selves of the Woburn Abbey owners. The guides imply a voyeuristic gaze into the private world of the aristocracy whilst stressing their qualities and their public duties. Although many of the family throughout the ages had a public role in office, often in Parliament, the more personal world of the country house shows a venue where the public and private selves, albeit in idealised and restricted form, are enacted in combination. This limited view offered a different sort of public self, with the demonstration of community value juxtaposed with the suggestion of a more personal and individual insight. These elements of personal promotion are all the more clearly visible when the illustrations and text of the Woburn Abbey guides are contrasted with depictions seen in more general publications relating to the country house and to the county.

³⁷⁴ Arnold, *Reading Architectural History*, p. 134.

³⁷⁵ Ibid & H. LeFèbvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by D. Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge MA: Blackwell, 1991), pp. 332-336.

³⁷⁶ Arnold, *Reading Architectural History*, p. 138.

Chapter 3

Cotehele House: Representation of a Seat from the ‘Olden Time’

Introduction

Huge halls, long galleries, spacious chambers join'd
 By no quite lawful marriage of the art,
 Might shock a connoisseur; but, when combined,
 Form'd a whole which, irregular in parts,
 Yet left a grand impression on the mind,
 At least of those whose eyes are in their hearts.³⁷⁷

As the quote above from *Don Juan* suggests, the combining of varying elements to create the *appearance* of unaltered history was not unheard of. A sense of the ‘Olden Time’ was embellished at Cotehele House, in Cornwall, in the eighteenth century, with a combination of furniture ‘mostly collected by the late, and the present Earl of Mount Edgcumbe’ and composite furniture created from an assemblage of earlier fragments.³⁷⁸ This enhancement of the property’s historical past led to the appearance of a romantic site untouched by the passage of time, and allowed the owner to show off the property as a historical artefact on day trips from his main seat nearby.

The historical development of Cotehele House and the reasons why it retained its historical character have been discussed in a previous work.³⁷⁹ A contemporary book written about the house conveyed aspects of its ancient past and the sense of history that the family had nurtured. It will be seen that the guidebook served a role in the use of Cotehele House as a historical artefact and object of interest for the family to display and advertise to visitors and potential visitors. Cotehele’s historical past was thus emphasised with a less than accurate adherence to detail, and apocryphal tales added to the mystique of the property.

³⁷⁷ Lord Byron, *Don Juan*, canto 13, stanza 67, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1973), p. 459.

³⁷⁸ J. Britton and E. Brayley, *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated, from original drawings by Thomas Allom, W.H. Bartlett & c.*, (London: H. Fisher, R. Fisher & P. Jackson, 1832), part II, p. 18 & V. Chinnery and J. Chinnery, *Cotehele House*, (National Trust, unpublished report, 2004), item number COT.F.82.

³⁷⁹ P. Riddy, *Back to the Future: Cotehele House, Development and Representation as a Historical Property, 1650-1840*, unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Sussex, 2011.

Cotehele House has been in the ownership of the National Trust since 1947, but was the property of one family, the Edgcumbes, for almost six hundred years. A house was on the same site since at least the fourteenth century, and the current house has retained many aspects of a medieval layout, with a hall court and great hall. Modifications and extensions were made from 1485 by Richard Edgcumbe I who was knighted on the battlefield at Bosworth in that year, and was made Controller of the royal household. In 1520 Piers Edgcumbe I extended and altered the original structure to reflect his status as member of the court of Henry VIII.³⁸⁰ The northwest tower was added by Richard Edgcumbe II in the 1560s.

For most of Cotehele's life it was a secondary residence and not in continuous occupation; Mount Edgcumbe, twenty-three miles away at the southern boundary of Cornwall with Devon, was the primary home of the family from the time of its completion in 1553. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons that Cotehele has remained largely unchanged since it was built. It became the main residence of Piers Edgcumbe III in the seventeenth century, and he made changes which reflected a desire for practical comfort rather than to emulate the increasingly classical trends in architecture. After this period the house reverted to being a secondary country seat and was largely uninhabited. This structural inertia left seemingly intact an historical property appreciated by the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century owners, who contributed to an historical look by enhancing it.

The process of purchasing old furniture and fittings for Cotehele is thought to have been begun by the first Baron Edgcumbe in the 1750s, or his son George, whose close friendship with Horace Walpole of Strawberry Hill might have helped to fuel an enthusiasm for the Gothic.³⁸¹ Richard, son of George, succeeded as 2nd Earl of Mount Edgcumbe 1795, when he had been a Tory Member of Parliament for Fowey in Cornwall for nine years. He seems to have continued the purchase of old furniture, and to show an interest in the enhancement of Cotehele as a historical property. The guide to Cotehele was almost certainly completed after the 2nd Earl's death in 1839 when his son 3rd Earl Ernest Augustus succeeded; it is to the 3rd Earl that the book is dedicated

³⁸⁰ E. Berry et al. *A Report for the National Trust: Cotehele House, Calstock, Cornwall, Historic Building Analysis*, (Unpublished Report, September 2004), pp. 47-48.

³⁸¹ D. & S. Lysons, *Cornwall Magna Britannia* Vol. 3 (1814), p.53 & Snodin, (ed.) *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, p. 125.

(figure 71). He too was a Member of Parliament and became aide-de-camp to Queen Victoria.

The authorship and commission the Cotehele guidebook

Several guidebooks to the Edgcumbes' main seat at Mount Edgcumbe were published during Richard, 2nd Earl's ownership of the estates, although there is no evidence that he had any direct involvement with their publication. The first unillustrated guide went to several editions because of the popularity of the pleasure grounds at Mount Edgcumbe with visitors.³⁸² Another guide, which contained illustrations only, also focussed only on exterior of the property.³⁸³ The popularity of Mount Edgcumbe was not surprising. It is situated on a small piece of land which was then part of Devon, the Rame Peninsula and surrounded by water on three sides it affords spectacular panoramic views. Mount Edgcumbe, the primary Edgcumbe family seat, although an ancient property, it was not as ancient as Cotehele, and lacked its asymmetry and romantic associations (figure 72 & figure 73). Although the 2nd Earl may have been involved in plans for a guidebook to Cotehele, none were published until after his death. The existence of guidebooks for Mount Edgcumbe may, however, have set the precedent for the later Cotehele book.

Cothele (sic.) *on the banks of the Tamar*, contains illustrations by Nicholas Condry, who is listed on the title page as the author, with text by the Reverend Arundell.³⁸⁴ There is no date of publication on this edition; the copies at Cotehele House are catalogued as circa 1840, whilst the British Library copy is catalogued as circa 1850 and the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography records a publication date for the work of circa 1850.³⁸⁵ There is no record of who commissioned the book, and notes at Cotehele House hypothesise that this could have been Richard Edgcumbe before his death in 1839. His successor was his second son, Ernest Augustus, 3rd Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, to whom the book was dedicated by Condry.

³⁸² *A Walk Round Mount-Edgcumbe*, (Plymouth: L. Congdon, 1812), 3rd edn.

³⁸³ *Eight Views of Mount Edgcumbe*, (London: William Clarke), 1820.

³⁸⁴ N. Condry, *Cothele on the banks of the Tamar, the ancient Seat of The Rt. Honble. The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe*, (c.1845).

³⁸⁵ G. C. Boase & rev. M. Pottle, 'Nicholas Condry, 1793-1857', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6062?docPos=1> [accessed 12.12.13].

Condy's motivations for accepting a commission for the Cotehele guidebook can be seen from his career development. He served in the Peninsular War, but left the army with the rank of Lieutenant in 1818, and spent the rest of his life in Plymouth working as a professional artist. It has been noted that his most famous work is *The Old Hall at Cotehele on Rent Day*, which was bought by the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe (figure 74).³⁸⁶ The success of this painting might have prompted thoughts of the book, which went on to contain 17 lithographs of paintings by him; in some copies of the book these are in colour.

Some indication of the date of the publication can be seen from the fact that Francis Vyvyan Jago Arundell, whom Condy commissioned to write the accompanying text, died in 1846.³⁸⁷ Further evidence can be found from the life of the Countess of Mount Edgcumbe, Ernest Augustus's wife, Caroline Feilding; they married in 1831. She was the daughter of Lady Theresa Fox-Strangways and her 2nd husband, Rear Admiral Charles Feilding.³⁸⁸ Lady Theresa has already been mentioned in chapter 1 as the commissioner of a guide to her property of Lacock Abbey when she took over Lacock Abbey in 1800 on the death of her husband.³⁸⁹ The Lacock Abbey guide was published in 1806, and this precedent might have in part motivated Caroline to encourage publication of a guide for Cotehele; evidence in her letters shows that she was in frequent contact with Condy. Lady Theresa's son from her first marriage to William Davenport Talbot, and so half-brother to Caroline, was Henry Fox Talbot. He was one of the early pioneers of photography, developing methods similar to Louis Daguerre in the same period.³⁹⁰ His letters with his half-sister Caroline Augusta Feilding, Countess of Mount Edgcumbe following her marriage in 1831, add to existing knowledge of the Cotehele guidebook. In a letter dated March 13th 1845 from Caroline to Henry, she comments on Condy's 'forthcoming work on Cotehele', which helps to date the book as in or shortly after 1845.³⁹¹ There is further, earlier, evidence relating to

³⁸⁶ Boase & Pottle, 'Nicholas Condy'.

³⁸⁷ W. P. Courtney, Rev. C. North, 'Francis Vyvyan Jago Arundell, 1780-1846', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/templates/article.jsp?articleid=715&back=> [accessed 12.12.13].

³⁸⁸ Schaaf, 'William Henry Fox Talbot'.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ Letter from Caroline Augusta Edgcumbe, née Feilding to William Henry Fox Talbot, Lacock Abbey Collection, Fox Talbot Museum Lacock, LA45-031.

the guidebook through surviving letters. In 1840 Caroline wrote to Henry from Mount Edgcumbe, and comments that Condry 'is continually coming over here'; indeed there are several watercolours of Mount Edgcumbe by Condry.³⁹²

Condry's involvement with the 3rd Earl and his family dates from the very beginning of the 3rd Earl's succession, and the same letter demonstrates Condry's interest in the new process of photography, for she writes: 'Mr. Condry was much gratified by your offer of some Photographs, & will accept with many thanks any you may please to send him – He has made attempts himself'. Fox Talbot had been working on the capture of images on paper soaked in silver nitrate since the 1830s.³⁹³ Condry's interest in photography is further elaborated in the letters. In 1840 Fox Talbot sent Caroline some photographs with the intention of her giving some to Condry. She writes to give thanks for these, and notes: 'The latter are beautiful – I have not yet selected those for Mr. Condry, as I want to give him good specimens, & yet keep the best for myself'.³⁹⁴ In a letter five years later, there is evidence of something quite extraordinary: that the Cotehele guidebook came very close to having a photograph included in it. Caroline writes to Fox Talbot: 'Are you thinking of coming here with Nicole? Mr. Condry is dying to make you talbotype some of the old drinking vessels at Cotehele, particularly a certain salver sculptured in relief by a celebrated Dutch modeller – which he says is too complicated to sketch – He would have liked to have made it to inset in his forthcoming work upon Cotehele'.³⁹⁵ Condry himself made some attempts at early photography, but that they were very 'faint'.³⁹⁶

Condry's interest in photography highlights his feelings about the limits of painting: he expressed difficulty in creating an accurate depiction of an intricately decorated object as 'it would be too complicated to sketch'.³⁹⁷ There is no Dutch salver of the sort he describes still existing in the collection at Cotehele: there is, however, a decorated metal plate from now known to be from Nuremburg, a possible candidate for

³⁹² Letter from Caroline, Countess of Mount Edgcumbe to William Henry Fox Talbot, Friday 15th May 1840, Lacock Abbey Collection Fox Talbot Museum Lacock, document number 04075.

³⁹³ G. Batchen, *William Henry Fox Talbot*, (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 2008), pp. 5-15.

³⁹⁴ Letter from Caroline, Countess of Mount Edgcumbe to William Henry Fox Talbot, Tuesday 16th June 1840, Lacock Abbey Collection Fox Talbot Museum Lacock, document number 4094.

³⁹⁵ Letter from Caroline, Countess of Mount Edgcumbe to William Henry Fox Talbot, Friday 13th March 1845, Lacock Abbey Collection Fox Talbot Museum Lacock, document number 5207, LA45-31.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

the one to which the Countess referred (figure 75). In several of the illustrations that Condry did include, there are groups of items including drinking vessels in the foreground, and it is easy to see that his slightly loose painting style renders the objects less visible than an accurate photograph might have done. Whether or not Fox Talbot did visit Cotehele to make some ‘talbotypes’ at a later date is not known, but an early photograph of the house from a few years later in 1860, show the sorts of object groupings that Condry had favoured (figure 76).

The letters offer an insight into the production of the guidebook, and enable it to be dated at around 1845. They show that Condry was a regular visitor to the house, and that the Earl and Countess of Edgcumbe were in frequent communication with him: the guidebook can be seen as having input from both author and owner. Condry certainly seems to have been keen to protect the value of the publication by preventing reference to Cotehele in any other books about ancient properties. A letter to Henry Fox Talbot from his wife Constance, refers to Nicholas Condry’s visits to their home at Lacock Abbey to paint a picture of it. She related that he had been approached: ‘the Editors of Baronial Halls after publishing in their first numbers had applied for leave to take Cothele (sic.) – but that Mr. Condry had told them that would interfere with his publication – whereupon they asked him to point out some other place of interest’.³⁹⁸ This keen protection of his sole rights to represent Cotehele House could explain why it was not represented in any of the volumes on ancient mansions that were published at the time, and this protection of the book’s potential impact suggests it was to be on open sale in spite of its large size and lavish production.

The dating of the guidebook is interesting in the context of a visit made by Queen Victoria to Cotehele in 1846.³⁹⁹ There is strong evidence that she was given Condry’s book as there is indeed a copy in the Royal Collection; it is possible the guide was written with her impending visit in mind.⁴⁰⁰ In addition there are paintings of the Royal approach and landing at Cotehele by Condry’s son Nicholas Mathew Condry, a maritime painter (figure 77 & figure 78). The Royal visit shows the use that was being

³⁹⁸ Letter from Caroline, Constance Talbot to William Henry Fox Talbot, Friday 13th December 1844, Lacock Abbey Collection Fox Talbot Museum Lacock, document number 5517.

³⁹⁹ National Trust, *Cotehele House*, (Swindon: National Trust Ltd.), 2009, p. 45.

⁴⁰⁰ Royal Collection Catalogue entry, at: <http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/1140763/cothele-on-the-banks-of-the-tamar-the-ancient-seat-of-the-rt-honble> [accessed 7.01.14].

made of Cotehele as an object of historical interest. The Queen had already visited Mount Edgumbe in 1843, also documented by Condry (figure 79).⁴⁰¹ On her Royal tour of the British Isles with Prince Albert in 1846 therefore, the 3rd Earl was able to offer his secondary country seat for a visit; the guidebook would have been a suitable diplomatic gift. In support of this hypothesis, there is an interesting reference to Queen Victoria in the text. In case there might be any misunderstanding that the romanticism of Cotehele's past implied a longing for former days rather than a nostalgic reflection, the text is keen to point out that the reader is far better off in the reign of the current queen, and offers deference to her: 'In casting our eyes on the three drawings of this splendid Hall, we are irresistibly brought to the conclusion that, however well the shining scenes of the days of chivalry may read.....still after all, a thorough-bred John Bull prefers his modern unromantic days, in which he can enjoy his roast beef and plum pudding in security, with a loyal bumper to Queen Victoria, and none to make him afraid'.⁴⁰² This section of text makes it quite clear that any nostalgia in the guide does not override the preferable safety of Queen Victoria's reign, and it conveys due deference towards her.

It is clear that the Cotehele guidebook was mutually beneficial both to the Edgumbe family and to the author. Condry's attempts to establish himself as an artist had been reasonably successful, but the Edgumbes seem to have been his main patrons and he could hope to stimulate interest in his work by publication of the Cotehele book. It is not certain whether or not it went on open sale, there are very few copies still in existence and the extent of the print run cannot be determined, but the discovery that he actively suppressed the inclusion of Cotehele in other publications suggests that he was protecting a commercial interest.

Representing Cotehele House and the writing of history

The Cotehele guidebook was thus aimed at depicting a secondary country seat with historical character which had been enhanced and embellished, and which was being used as a historical artefact in itself to show to visitors as distinguished as Queen

⁴⁰¹ National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, catalogue entry PAD6533, National Maritime Museum website at: <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/110684.html>

⁴⁰² Condry, *Cotehele on the Banks of the Tamar*, p.12.

Victoria. Other visitors, as recorded in journal entries of the time, had included Queen Charlotte in 1789, Revd John Swete in 1790, William Gilpin in 1798 and Harriet Countess of Granville in 1815 amongst many others.⁴⁰³ The property was being styled in a different way to the principal seat at Mount Edgcumbe, where the stunning views and potential in the pleasure gardens were depicted as a contrast to the historical romanticism of the interiors at Cotehele. The ways in which history was represented in the images and text of the guidebook to Cotehele aimed at creating a sense of narrative and engagement for the reader.

The first illustration in the Cotehele guidebook is a plan of the ground floor of the house, showing that the emphasis was to be the interior rather than the exterior as at Mount Edgcumbe (figure 80). A large number of service rooms are listed, with the inherent reference to hierarchy and a well-serviced house. Some of the rooms are noted as being ‘in decay’, which adds a further emphasis on the age of the property, and the sense that it has been untouched. The plan also details the rather puzzling ‘prison’: there are no records of any prisoners ever being taken to Cotehele, but it adds to the mystique of the property as an ancient site of conflict. The remaining illustrations were all from Condry’s paintings of the house, and eleven out of the seventeen illustrations are staffed with figures, many in historical dress.

Joseph Nash’s published collection of prints of historical country houses had been published a few years before the Cotehele guide, and both shared the common factor of depicting daily life embellished with characters in historical dress.⁴⁰⁴ John Cornforth suggests a new interest in the pictorial potential of daily life as one reason for this proliferation, as well as the motivations of improving public taste and the making of a historical record.⁴⁰⁵ The frontispiece of both books is similar enough to suggest that Condry had been directly influenced by the earlier book (figure 81 & figure 82). The text in the introduction states that Cotehele had not changed and is: ‘the Cotehele of

⁴⁰³ *Diary of Queen Charlotte*, courtesy of Cotehele archives (uncatalogued); T. Gray (ed.) *Travels in Georgian Devon: The Illustrated Journals of John Swete (1789-1800)*, vol. 1, (Tiverton: Devon Books, 1967), pp. 137-8; W. Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England*, (London: T. Cadell, 1798), pp. 234-5; F. Leveson Gower (ed.) *Letters of Harriet Countess of Granville*, vol. 1, (London: Longman, Green & Co., 1890), p. 77.

⁴⁰⁴ Nash, *Mansions of England in the Olden Time*.

⁴⁰⁵ J. Cornforth, *English Interiors 1790-1848*, p. 18.

Henry VII'.⁴⁰⁶ In spite of this assertion the attire in the paintings is not consistent with this period, although some costumes shown do depict a sense of general history. The frontispiece show a falconer and his assistant in clothing which could be seen as appropriate for the sixteenth century, and the sport is reminiscent of Henry VIII's passion.

Much of the other clothing shown is typical of the mid-seventeenth century, for example in an illustration of the courtyard outside the Great Hall shows a couple engaging in a relaxed stroll (figure 83).⁴⁰⁷ The loose 'bucket' boots and breeches worn by the man indicate this period, and the bright colours are consistent with Royalist sympathies.⁴⁰⁸ It is known that the family had been on the Royalist side, although it has been suggested that he only became involved in the English Civil War when the Mount Edgcumbe estates were threatened by encroaching Parliamentary forces in 1644.⁴⁰⁹ Piers Edgcumbe set up a Royalist garrison at Millbrook near Mount Edgcumbe: 'Mr. Edgcumbe beinge Collonel of a Regiment of ye Trayned Bands'.⁴¹⁰ When the New Model Army invaded Cornwall in 1646, however, Edgcumbe did not respond to further commands to re-group, and instead surrendered. The Edgcumbe involvement in the Civil War was thus not straightforward, and Piers was promised a pardon by Colonel Fairfax of the invading army. The seventeenth-century costumed figures in this and the illustrations of the Great Hall thus do not refer to a specific event in history, but are more aimed at representing the seventeenth century in general. Two soldiers with pikes are stationed at the main door to the Hall and at the entrance to a further inner courtyard and their presence is a reminder of barriers of privacy and security; only the privileged are allowed entry into the inner sanctum. The hierarchy and rules of a former age are thus highlighted.

A further illustration which also includes figures in seventeenth-century dress, shows a couple relaxing with a child in the drawing room (figure 84). To the left in the

⁴⁰⁶ Condry, *The Ancient Mansion of Cotheel on the Banks of the Tamar*, p.1.

⁴⁰⁷ J. Ashelford, *The Art of Dress: Clothes Through History 1500-1914*, (London: National Trust, 1996) and C. Willett Cunningham & P. Cunningham, *Handbook of English Costume in the 17th Century*, (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1972), pp. 76-85 & p. 50 & p. 58.

⁴⁰⁸ Cunningham & Cunningham, *Handbook of English Costume in the 17th Century*,

⁴⁰⁹ A. Duffin, *Faction and Faith: Politics and Religion of the Cornish Gentry Before the English Civil War*, (University of Exeter Press, 1994), p.200.

⁴¹⁰ M. Stoye, *West Briton: Cornish Identities and the Early Modern British State*, (University of Exeter Press, 2002), p.139.

illustration can be seen an ebonised cabinet of the sort that was popular during the late Regency to early Victorian period. It is interesting that the cupboard was authentically Elizabethan, but that the addition of black paint was thought by the late Georgian owner to make it seem more so, and this shows that semblance was more important than authenticity.⁴¹¹ The cabinet might possibly have been in Cotehele since it was made, because Sir Richard Edgcumbe's will of 1681 makes a rare mention of furniture for an Edgcumbe will, when he leaves his wife 'a damask bed and a walnut cabinet'.⁴¹² We can presume that they must have been significant objects and of value because they are itemised alongside diamond jewellery and plate worth £100, and because no other existing Edgcumbe will makes reference to any specific item of furniture. As the only purely walnut cabinet still at Cotehele is the carved, ebonised one already mentioned, it is indeed possible that they were the same cabinet. On a visit to Cotehele by Queen Charlotte in 1789, she notes that '...above stairs there is a Drawing room The Chairs Black Ebony Carved & a Cabinet the same...', and this is more than likely to be the same cabinet; the cupboard had possibly been ebonised at the direction of Richard, 2nd Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.

Although these last two illustrations imply carefree relaxation, the resonance with the Civil War is a reminder of the period when there was a strong danger of attack. It was the last time when the armour displayed in the Great Hall was in fact used in conflict. Arundell comments in his description of the Hall: 'in the lamentable wars of Charles I we may be sure this house and hall in particular, were busily engaged (sic.)' (figure 85).⁴¹³ This was an assertion based on speculation, as it has been shown that Piers Edgcumbe's Civil War involvement shows the action to have been far removed from Cotehele at Mount Edgcumbe and Millbrook, both over twenty-three miles away even with the benefit of modern roads.⁴¹⁴ The supposed Civil War involvement at Cotehele was highlighted by the wearing of armour in two of the paintings. Interestingly in spite of its being worn, armour is still shown as on display high on the walls of the Great Hall; it is unlikely to have been used as a decorative feature during a period when it was in active use. The suit of armour on the west wall of the Great Hall

⁴¹¹ Chinnery & Chinnery, *Cotehele House*, COT. F-99.2.

⁴¹² CRO: ME/892/1, Will and Probate of Sir Rich. Edgcumbe of Mount Edgcumbe,.

⁴¹³ Condry, *The Ancient Mansion of Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*, p. 9.

⁴¹⁴ Riddy, *Back to the Future*.

at Cotehele is even displayed in the shape of a person with hand on hip and pike in hand. This method is much more akin to the displays of the late eighteenth-century armour collections of Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill or slightly later of William Beckford and Walter Scott's armouries at Fonthill Abbey and Abbotsford House.⁴¹⁵

A second illustration of the great hall adds a sense of narrative to the history suggested by the costume from a former era (figure 86). There is a sense of voyeurism in the way in which the view of a soldier in discussion with woman is framed by the doorway; the implication of an assignation which is being covertly viewed in this way adds to the sense of romantic intrigue conveyed in the guidebook. In spite of this interest in voyeurism, Condry interestingly decided not to depict a squint which gave a view of the Great Hall from the upper Great Chamber; it can be seen clearly in an earlier illustration by John Buckler (figure 87). A final illustration of the Great Hall by Condry adds further emphasis to the Civil War theme, as it depicts a further two soldiers (figure 88). A discarded helmet in the doorway is typical of Condry's penchant for including single or groups of items in the foreground of his paintings.

Views of a way of life: hierarchy

The remaining Condry images of Cotehele show characters in more contemporary dress. A couple on horseback appear to be pulling away from the mounting block just outside the gatehouse, and the gentleman wears a top hat; their outfits are more consistent with the early-nineteenth century when Condry painted the images (figure 89). His watercolours of the interior of nearby Antony House similarly used the clothing of the day, as in a picture of the hall there with a gentleman and two ladies consulting a map on the wall (figure 90).

Another aspect of the clothing of the characters depicted is the denotation of class, hierarchy and status. Indeed one purpose of the evocation of history could be to recall a time when hierarchies were clearer, when the master ruled and the servant was under ordered control. This is highlighted by the presence of a woman milking a cow in an implausible location at the main entrance to the house, in view of the elegant couple on

⁴¹⁵ Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*, pp. 71-107, pp. 109-146, pp. 147- 177 & pp. 179-240.

horseback. The social order is emphasised by a servant happily engrossed in labour, juxtaposed with the gentry at leisure. The message is conveyed by a further image from behind the tower, showing two gentlemen chatting whilst a servant appears to exercise the hounds (figure 91). Two cows nearby remind the viewer of the productivity of the estate, the results of which are the plentiful hanging joints of meat seen in the kitchen, some no doubt venison from the deer park that was in the grounds during Cotehele's early years (figure 92). An industrious servant can also be seen in his place in the kitchen, and the text states the image transports the viewer to the 'atelier of Teniers', with cabbages and other food strewn across the floor. There are indeed some elements of seventeenth-century Dutch art. The servant appears to peel a vegetable whilst a dog looks attentively with patient anticipation; the faithful and trained dog is another example of controlled domesticity at the lower end of the hierarchy.

Cotehele is shown as a perfectly ordered and controlled environment, ready to cater for any need; a female servant surveys the pristine interior of the ante room, with fire burning and rows of gleaming clean silverware (figure 93). The neat and clean interior, heated and staffed in anticipation of the demands of the aristocratic occupants combines a sense of the Victorian aim of comfort and order in a fusion with the historic backdrop. The Victorian preoccupation with comfort and domesticity is well-known, and it was important that the interior was seen as 'comfortable but not luxurious'.⁴¹⁶ In depicting the rooms at Cotehele, Condry is thus evoking history with a sense of contemporary values. Victorian order, cleanliness and domesticity are juxtaposed onto a setting from a former age in a fusion of old and modern. An example of this fusion, with implied narrative, was seen in the view of the Great Hall in which a Civil War soldier addresses a young woman, observed by a second seated soldier, perhaps useful as a chaperone (figure 86). Thus the chivalry of a former age is alluded to and can be overlaid with the nineteenth-century values of decency and propriety.

Consistent with the theme of hierarchy and decency, armed soldiers guard the privacy and security of the spaces. In a similar vein the text suggests different accessibility depending on status, for a south door to the chapel is described as being for the use of 'domestics of the mansion' and 'certain poore people' whom the owners used

⁴¹⁶ M. Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press), pp. 15-16.

to 'releeve'.⁴¹⁷ Hierarchy is emphasised alongside the noble virtue of charity, and the text interestingly adopts the early English spelling in inverted commas at this point in a historical appropriation of early values.

The hierarchy of servants and master thus conveys status, whilst the values of early Victorian society are emphasised. A further way that status and history are combined is through the emphasis on lineage with the implications of entitlement. Thus the Edgumbe coats of arms can be seen in the windows of the Great Hall (figure 88). Such details underline the extent of the family's heritage and value as gentry, as discussed earlier. A further status-enhancing tactic which is widely used at country houses, is the association with royalty, with royal visits being claimed by many. The visit of King George III and Queen Charlotte was justifiably commemorated with a brass plaque on a sofa on which they had supposedly sat. Less justifiable is the naming of a bedroom as King Charles's Room, with a comment in the guidebook text that tradition held he had slept in the room. The King's known march from Liskeard to Exeter in September 1644 was cited as evidence that such a visit was feasible, but the story has not been validated by proof. Godolphin House, seat of the powerful and wealthy Godolphin family, similarly boasted a royal visit and re-named the Great Chamber the King's Room. This was in honour of a visit from Charles II who stayed at Godolphin in 1646 on his escape to France, and perhaps this date might have been the occasion for a royal visit to Cotehele which would have been en route to Godolphin, situated in Helston further into Cornwall.⁴¹⁸

An even less substantiated allusion to royalty was the presence of a bedroom named Queen Anne's Room, and the text even concedes that the royal association 'cannot be satisfactorily explained'.⁴¹⁹ In spite of this, one visitor in 1839, left with the impression that Queen Anne had been born and raised in the house.⁴²⁰ The royal names given to some of the bedrooms is noted at Cotehele to be the first time that they were named in this way: perhaps this was also with Queen Victoria's impending visit in mind. There is likely to be an element of wish-fulfilment in the royal naming of rooms,

⁴¹⁷ Condry, *The Ancient Mansion of Cotheel on the Banks of the Tamar*, p.18.

⁴¹⁸ J. Rendell, *Cornwall's Historic Buildings*, (Stroud: The History Press Ltd, 2008), p. 37.

⁴¹⁹ Condry, *The Ancient Mansion of Cotheel on the Banks of the Tamar*.

⁴²⁰ 'Journal of Barclay Fox', in: *Tamar History*, Issue 10, Spring 2002, pp. 25-26.

as with the supposed association of Mary Queen of Scots at Hardwick Hall.⁴²¹ As well as implying high connections and influential association, the idea of royal connections links into a theme of story-telling and mystery that was popular in the period. Just as the viewer is reminded of the monarch in their absence by the room title, so too the absence of other characters is evoked by the presence of objects that denote their recent occupation.

Typical of the illustrations of the bedrooms, a view of the 'Red Bedroom' shows the tapestries that are shown adorning many of the walls (figure 94). An eighteenth-century renovation is known to have occurred at the family's main seat at Mount Edgcumbe, and it might have involved the removal of tapestries which by now were regarded as extremely old-fashioned; it has been suggested that they were sent to Cotehele.⁴²² Tapestries were clearly more suited to the antique interiors at this secondary property, and so a development of Cotehele as a historical site may have grown partly from practicality. John Cornforth has hypothesised that the tapestries were more likely to have been installed earlier, in the 1730s or 1740s, as he feels that the use of tapestry was not typical of Regency Romanticism.⁴²³ Indeed this is supported by the lack of tapestry in other properties romanticised during the late-eighteenth century onwards, as will be seen in later sections of this chapter. The tapestries possibly acquired from Mount Edgcumbe were then cut to fit in the spaces available at Cotehele.⁴²⁴

In this and many of the room images, a fire is burning, and so the viewer is aware of the room's recent or imminent use. Several rooms show discarded clothes, as in the White Room (figure 95). This leads to a sense of unknown narrative which can only be elaborated by the imagination of the viewer. A gown casually draped over a chair and a solitary high-heeled shoe on the floor opposite a burning fire, suggest a recent disrobing which adds a gentle erotic undertone to the view of the room. There is an air of romance present in many of the other images both specifically, such as the assignation in the Great Hall, or more generally with the soft colours and hint of decay.

⁴²¹ National Trust, *Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire*, (London: National Trust, 2006), pp. 66-7.

⁴²² Berry et al. *A Report for the National Trust*, p. 29.

⁴²³ J. Cornforth, 'Cotehele, Cornwall – II: A Property of the National Trust', *Country Life*, February 8, 1990, pp. 68-70.

⁴²⁴ W. Hefford, *The Cotehele Tapestries*, (National Trust, London, 1991).

Decay is suggested most obviously in the exterior view of the tower, which is fairly heavily encased by encroaching foliage, ‘mid massive leafage – lonely in decay and grey with age Cotehele’s embattled towers, Arise a relic of baronial days!’, as another contemporary poem, not quoted in the guide, declared (figure 91).⁴²⁵ This prompt to remember the passage of time reminds the viewer of the history juxtaposed with the continuity expressed in the servant walking the hounds, or the gentlemen conversing. The apparently untamed plant growth is in contrast to the neat interiors, and can perhaps be allowed in the context of the contemporary appreciation of the picturesque; in fact the illustrations in *Cotehele on the Banks of the Tamar* are the only examples of the West Tower being shown with a coating of foliage, all illustrations in other publications do not share this feature. Although the greenery covers windows in places, the interior rooms are unexpectedly flooded with light, for whilst decay and the passage of time could be evoked they could not be allowed to spoil the need for order and control as already discussed. The Cotehele guide is an interesting balancing act between history and morality.

Views of the past: Telling Tales

A gentleman pausing to converse with a more humbly-clad woman can be seen outside the chapel in the woods (figure 96). The romantic image of Cotehele is also evoked through the text that is paired with the image. Arundell repeated the familiar story of Richard Edgcumbe escaping the forces of Richard III by leaping from the cliff edge in the Cotehele estate into the river below, and includes an illustration of the chapel. The authenticity of this story, still repeated in the modern Cotehele guide, is not known; it was first told in Richard Carew’s *Survey of Cornwall* in 1602.⁴²⁶ In 1769 the chapel in the wood at Cotehele was ‘romanticised’.⁴²⁷ This probably involved clearing away undergrowth and any rubble so that it could be visited, as well as adding coats of arms and the plaque relating a story of Richard Edgcumbe. The idea of a chapel in the woods was a romantic element to the grounds, but the fact that it had a dramatic story

⁴²⁵ ‘Franz’, ‘Local Scenery IV’, COT, p.109.

⁴²⁶ R. Carew, *Richard Carew’s Survey of Cornwall*, (Redruth: Tamar Books, 2000), p. 134,[London: John Jaggard 1602].

⁴²⁷ Berry et al. *A Report for the National Trust*, p. 29 & figure 13.

attached to it relating to an ancestor, added much to its value as a historical part of the property. It was said that after Richard Edgcumbe had leapt into the water below the cliff, he had feigned death to escape from the murderous pursuers in the form of the soldiers of Richard III following Edgcumbe's association with a rebellion against him.⁴²⁸ He survived, and allegedly built this chapel in gratitude to God for His mercy in subsequent years. The associations of a property with dramatic historical stories, preferably involving royalty or a famous person, are a key element in their romanticisation. The drama thus involved an element of fear and perhaps the sublime which is not evoked elsewhere in the guide. It is worth noting that the sight of the river to the right of the illustration shows it far below in the distance to emphasise the point about the leap from the cliff, whereas the river to the left is inconsistently not far below the land: in order for the river to join up behind the chapel a large waterfall would be necessary (not the case in reality). The interest added by such stories to Cotehele is exemplified by John Swete's reaction on being told the story whilst passing below in a boat on the Tamar. He recalled: 'this story was told by a Lady in the Boat – and though the Scene (abstracted from this eventful circumstance) was highly picturesque and romantic, yet in an instant, it assumed a more important and wilder aspect – it became associated with the incident and drew off my attention (while it continued in sight) from every other object'.⁴²⁹

Tinniswood writes of the pairing of literary associations and country house descriptions as a manifestation of the Romantic 'growth of the cult of personality'.⁴³⁰ The creation and characters and stories was another way in which the house was brought alive for visitors. Romantic descriptions of a house, sometimes with the use of poetry, were becoming not only a way to view great houses, but a stimulus and way of accessing personal emotions. A poetic element was added to the guide by including a few quotes from a very lengthy poem based at Cotehele, and written by clergyman Richard Polwhele in 1815, entitled *Isabel of Cotehele*.⁴³¹ Arundell thus evokes the war of earlier days by quoting Polwhele when he writes of 'The deeds of heroes battle slain' and the hospitality in the Great Hall of early years when 'in large cups the Rhenish

⁴²⁸ Carew, *Richard Carew's Survey of Cornwall*, p. 134.

⁴²⁹ T. Gray (ed.) *Travels in Georgian Devon*, (Tiverton: Devon Books, 1997), 137.

⁴³⁰ Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist*, p.130.

⁴³¹ R. Polwhele, *The Fair Isabel of Cotehele: a Cornish Romance, in Six Cantos*, (London: J. Cawthorn, 1815).

gleam'd, and muscadell flow'd rich and free'.⁴³² He quotes Polwhele's evocation of the murky atmosphere enlivened by glowing light whilst alluding to history:

Thro' diamond panes of storied glass
Scarce could the light of morning pass.
Yet 'twas enough through each dim pane,
The room with richer tints to stain.⁴³³

The poem tells of the thwarted love of Isabel, and of an evil monk who wafts through the gloomy corridors 'and whirled her though the cloistral gloom'.⁴³⁴ Unlike many properties acquired after the dissolution of the monasteries, Cotehele had not had a religious community, in contrast to the implications of the poem. The monk is appropriated and transported to evoke a mysterious and potentially dangerous sense of the religious.

Mystery and spirituality combine in a description of a 'Lady Jane', thought to be Joan Dernford, wife of Sir Piers during the later fifteenth century, who had 'an extraordinary *vision* of the happiness of the blest in heaven'.⁴³⁵ Arundell hypothesises that the vision might have occurred in the Chapel in the wood, a suitably romantic location. An even more mysterious spiritual association is made in Arundell's description of the White Bedroom. He asserts that Piers Edgcumbe I, who inherited Cotehele in 1562, was 'deeply learned in the occult sciences, especially alchemy and astrology, and wrote much upon the secrets of the Rosicrucians'.⁴³⁶ This claim, which cannot now be substantiated, was elaborated by the even more fanciful suggestion that the anteroom to the bedchamber might have been his laboratory. Gothic literature does not follow a formula but contained many of the elements that have already been seen in the guidebook of Cotehele, which, as well as mysticism and mystery in general, include drama and romance often in a historical and perhaps eerie context. The use of drama and romance in literature has been seen as a prompt to cathartic emotions, and this links in with popular genres of literature at the time which could serve as a stimulus to the imagination.⁴³⁷

⁴³² Condry, *The Ancient Mansion of Cotheel on the Banks of the Tamar*, p. 12.

⁴³³ *Ibid*, p.17.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid*.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 17.

⁴³⁶ Condry, *The Ancient Mansion of Cotheel on the Banks of the Tamar*, p. 23.

⁴³⁷ F. Botting, *Gothic: the New Critical Idiom*, (London: Routledge, 2010), [1996].

Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar in context: a comparison with other books

The Cotehele guidebook is consistent with the early Victorian penchant for the stimulation of nostalgic imagination, paralleled by novels of the period which looked back to former golden ages. The interest in the nostalgia of history began earlier, however: Mark Girouard dates interests in chivalric revival as far back as 1759 with the publication of J.B. de Sainte-Palaye's two volume *Mémoires de l'ancienne chevalrie* in Paris, with an English translation which followed in 1779.⁴³⁸ It also began to infiltrate visual imagery, such as Benjamin West's image of chivalry in his painting: *Edward III with the Black Prince after Battle of Crécy*, of 1788.⁴³⁹ Girouard linked this new interest to an increased 'glorification of intellect and reason' in the late eighteenth century, which led to an interest by antiquaries in studying the details of Britain's medieval past.⁴⁴⁰ He cited the extensive Gothic-style redecoration at Alnwick Castle in the late eighteenth century, as a product of such interest. Clive Wainwright explored five case studies of Gothic Revival style in his book *The Romantic Interior*, his eighteenth century example being the well documented development at Strawberry Hill by Horace Walpole largely finished by 1776.⁴⁴¹ Walpole has been seen in the literature, here and elsewhere, as a very early front runner in the expression of neo-Gothic taste.

The current research sample of guidebooks also shows an early interest in history as a stimulus to the imagination. In 1769 Thomas May wrote and published an account of his visit to 'Cockthorpe Park' in Oxfordshire in which he gave a description of the grounds and exterior of a property now known as Cokethorpe Park. His description was entirely in verse, and his visit to the estate sparks a series of nostalgic idealisations of a past age:

Thus happy liv'd mankind in days of old,
Before the times of base degenerate gold.⁴⁴²

The author both imagines the property to be ancient, and also associates these unspecified 'days of old', with a simpler less corrupt lifestyle. It also evokes for

⁴³⁸ M. Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 22.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*.

⁴⁴² May, *An Excursion to Cockthorpe Park*, p. 7.

Thomas May the loyalty of subject to Lord of the Manor, and thus the authority of the latter. References back to Civil War, and to other rebellions, are a reminder of a former more dangerous age, but with the implication of everyone co-operating together across class boundaries against a common foe (with the hierarchy still of course retained):

An ancient mansion now the trav'ler sees.
Its former lord once train'd a loyal band,
When rebellion rous'd his native land.⁴⁴³

These nostalgic ruminations seem inconsistent with the age of the house, which was built in the early eighteenth century after the age of rebellion to which the verse refers. The author does, however, acknowledge that the ruins in the grounds are recent additions:

There seeming ruins, lately made,
You'd think, perhaps, by time decay'd.⁴⁴⁴

A later eighteenth-century guidebook to South Wingfield Manor, quotes John Milton's *L'Allegro* to evoke the historic sense hospitality as well as chivalry, which he introduces by writing:

Here imagination eagerly plunges into the fascinating scenes of antiquity, and the mental eye gazes in rapture on the splendid and hospitable revels of the days of chivalry.⁴⁴⁵

It has already been noted that the Countess of Edgcumbe's mother Lady Theresa Fox-Strangways had commissioned a guidebook to the family home: this book also evokes a history overlaid with memories of the property's former religious use:

OVenerable Pile! tho' new no more
The pensive Passenger, at Evening bears,
The slowly chanted *Vespers*; or the Sounds
Of *Miserere*, die along the Vale;
Yet *Piety and Honour'd Age* retired
There hold their blameless sojourn, e're the Bowl
Be broken, or the silver Chord be loos'd'.⁴⁴⁶

The theme of ancient architecture as a valuable stimulus to the imagination, is present by implication in many of the guides looked at in this study, but it is stated explicitly in

⁴⁴³ May, *An Excursion to Cockthorpe Park*, p. 8.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 19.

⁴⁴⁵ T. Blore, *An History of the Manor and Manor House of South Winfield in Derbyshire*, p. 87.

⁴⁴⁶ G. Witham, *The History of Lacock Abbey, or Locus Beatae Mariae From Dugdale, Stevens &c, with additions on the present state of the Abbey* (1806), p. 44.

the guide to Hengrave Hall. Its author, John Gage, brother to the recently deceased owner of Hengrave, Sir Thomas Gage (whose nephew, a minor, had inherited), was a historian who became a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1818 and went on to become President in 1829.⁴⁴⁷ In the preface to the guide, Gage quotes Sir Joshua Reynolds on the commonality between architecture, poetry and painting, and writes: ‘Among those which may be reckoned as the first, observes the great master, is that of affecting the imagination by means of association of ideas. Thus, for instance, as we have naturally a veneration for antiquity, whatever building brings to our remembrance ancient customs and manners, such as the castles of the barons and ancient chivalry, is sure to give us delight’.⁴⁴⁸ At Hengrave Hall, which had been built between 1525 and 1538, there was plenty of genuine history to stimulate nostalgic thoughts of the past.

In the guide to The Priory at Leatherhead of 1837, the experience of the ancient abbey promoted a reflection on transitoriness and the prospect of heaven:

The relics of past ages offer food
For meditation; and the lonely hall
Or crumbling abbey, with its fallen pride.....
Speak of the change on earth, and bid us seek
A changeless home above.⁴⁴⁹

The trend for the nostalgia of history had therefore started well before the guidebook to Cotehele House; the use of characters in historical dress had started a bit before the guidebook. The use of historical costume in Joseph Nash’s series *Mansions of England in the Olden Time*⁴⁵⁰, has been described in the literature as ‘for literary, not for pictorial, reasons’, by which the author seems to suggest that the figures helped the viewer to understand the narrative of the house’s history rather than just being decorative or pleasing.⁴⁵¹ The use of historically-dressed figures in this sample of country house descriptions began seventeen years before Nash’s *Olden Time* with

⁴⁴⁷ T. Cooper, & rev. J. M. Blatchly, Rokewood, *John Gage Rokewode (1786–1842)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24017?docPos=2> [accessed 22.11.12].

⁴⁴⁸ J. Gage, *The history and antiquities of Hengrave, in Suffolk*, (London: J Carpenter, J Booker; Bury St Edmonds: J. Deck, 1822), preface.

⁴⁴⁹ W. Cotton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of some Pictures, books and prints medals, bronzes, and other curiosities collected by Charles Rogers Esq. FRS FAS and now in the possession of William Cotton, MA FAS of the Priory, Leatherhead, Surrey*, (London: William Bentley, 1836), pp. 4-5.

⁴⁵⁰ Nash, *Mansions of England in the Olden Time*.

⁴⁵¹ J. Steegman, *The Artist and the Country House*, (London: Country Life Ltd. & New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1949), p. 16.

Thomas Frognall Dibdin's guide to Althorp for George John, 2nd Earl Spencer, although it was not an illustration of the house but a reproduction of a painting in the collection.⁴⁵² The next country house guide to include historical figures was *A Guide to Woburn Abbey* by John Docwra Parry which was published in 1831, and discussed in a chapter 2, which included a reference to the abbey's ecclesiastical past by the inclusion of monks in one of its illustrations (figure 64).⁴⁵³

The first property to be depicted with non-ecclesiastical historical figures was Great Chalfield House, when the owner Harry Burrard Neale commissioned architect Thomas Larkins Walker to survey the his property with a view to restoration.⁴⁵⁴ Walker published the survey in 1837 as an example of Gothic architecture, which he had studied as a pupil of Augustus Charles Pugin, and included historical figures in his drawings.⁴⁵⁵ In the same year as the guide for Great Chalfield Manor was published, there was another guide which used imagery with period costume: the Priory at Leatherhead.⁴⁵⁶ A previous guide had been written by the owner, William Cotton, and published a year earlier.⁴⁵⁷ This earlier book had focused on Cotton's collections at the Priory. James Dalloway's 1837 guide, by contrast, focused on the ancient Cistercian Priory which had preceded the residence that 'W Cotton has lately builtupon the original site'.⁴⁵⁸ Dalloway included one image with characters in period costume, of a feast in the Great Hall.

Two years later, John Brady wrote a guide to Knole, which was for the purpose of visitors 'carrying away with them'.⁴⁵⁹ There had been two earlier guides: the first consisted of biographies of the portraits in 1795 with some description of the house,

⁴⁵² T.F. Dibdin, *Aedes Althorpianae; or an Account of the mansion, books, and pictures, at Althorp; the residence of George John Earl Spencer To which is added a supplement to the Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, (London, 1822).

⁴⁵³ Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*.

⁴⁵⁴ National Trust, *Great Chalfield Manor*, (London: National Trust, 2007), p. 20.

⁴⁵⁵ T. L. Walker, *The history and antiquities of the manor house and Church at Great Chalfield*, (London: Published by the author, 1837) & R. Hill, *Thomas Larkins Walker*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28515> [accessed 26.01.14]

⁴⁵⁶ J. Dalloway, *Some account of the Cistercian Priory of Ripa Mola in a letter to the secretary of the antiq. soc.* (Privately printed: S. Bentley, 1837).

⁴⁵⁷ Cotton, *A Descriptive Catalogue*.

⁴⁵⁸ J. Dalloway, *Some account of the Cistercian Priory of Ripa Mola*, p.9.

⁴⁵⁹ J.H. Brady, *The Visitor's Guide to Knole in the county of Kent, with Catalogues of the pictures contained in the mansion, and biographical notices of the principal persons whose portrait form part of the collection*, (Sevenoaks: James Payne, 1839), p. vii.

which was intended only for private distribution. The second, in 1817, was an illustrated description of Knole which also focused on the genealogy of the Sackville family.⁴⁶⁰ Brady's guide differed from both of these earlier guides because the images had characters in period dress distributed at liminal places in the house: a man in breeches with a plumed hat lurks on the staircase, and two similarly attired men chat under the second gateway tower (figure 97).⁴⁶¹ This later book was published in the same year that Joseph Nash produced his first series of *Mansions of England in the Olden Time*, and the use of liminal places such as archways implies that one was an influence on the other, that perhaps Brady had seen Nash's work before making a similar innovation in his own. Brady notes of the staircase decoration that he illustrates, that they are 'embellished folios of the time of Elizabeth and James I', and this is consistent with the date of the staircase which was remodelled in 1605-8 by Thomas, 1st Earl of Dorset.⁴⁶² Brady makes keen attempts at historical accuracy, using his own judgement in places, but he struggles to determine the correct building dates in all case, stating 'it is now impossible to give any certain account'.⁴⁶³

Warwick Castle dates from the eleventh-century, and was developed into a family home from the seventeenth century onwards.⁴⁶⁴ A guide was written in 1844 as the final part of the new *Vitruvius Britannicus* series, and included an image on the title page of gentlemen in the entrance wearing what appears to be sixteenth-century costume.⁴⁶⁵ Some are mounted on horses, others are standing in an archway, and this method of depiction in an architectural archway is again very reminiscent of Joseph Nash's title page for his *Mansions of England in the Olden Time* of which he had published three volumes by this date.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁰ J. Bridgman, *An Historical and Topographical Sketch of Knole, with a brief Genealogy of the Sackville Family*, (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1817).

⁴⁶¹ Brady, *The Visitor's Guide to Knole*, pp. 86-7 & pp. 106-7.

⁴⁶² R. Sackville-West, *Knole, Kent*, (London: National Trust, 2006), p. 14, [1998].

⁴⁶³ J.H. Brady, *The Visitor's Guide to Knole*, p. 83 and E. Town, *A House Re-Edified: Thomas Sackville and the Transformation of Knole 1605-1608*, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Sussex, 2010, p. 190.

⁴⁶⁴ Warwick Castle website, at: <http://www.warwick-castle.com/explore-castle/history-and-restoration.aspx> [accessed 20.11.2012].

⁴⁶⁵ C.W. Spicer, *Vitruvius Britannicus: History of Warwick Castle, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (London: 1843).

⁴⁶⁶ Nash, *Mansions of England in the Olden Time*.

The periodisation of Cotehele

There was therefore a precedent for the representation of ancient properties in illustrations with historical figures. Historical accuracy to a particular period was not considered necessary, however, as Nash's use of the non-specific phrase 'Olden Time' indicates. The representation of Cotehele in the guidebook was very much designed to enhance the appearance of age; an impression which had to some extent been generated artificially. The interiors at Cotehele had been fitted out to give the impression of consistency, but in fact some of the furniture had been 'created' to give the impression of age. In addition to the ebonisation of furniture, as discussed earlier with reference to the walnut cupboard, some furniture was in fact formed as a composite of different fragments of furniture at a much later date. These component fragments were often from different periods, and from different types of piece, and there are many examples of this kind of furniture at Cotehele, as evidence that the antiquated look was not in fact preserved from the sixteenth century or earlier, but was a hybrid semi-fiction of later creation. A chair in the Great Hall at Cotehele is carved with leafy and floral motifs, with the image of a man in sixteenth-century dress carved on the seat back. It is thought to have been assembled between 1780 and 1830, using some fragments from an earlier date (figure 98).⁴⁶⁷ It is constructed from oak, but was painted black.

A slightly later antiquarian composite item is a footstool currently in the South Chamber, made from oak and beech. It incorporates the elaborate carved boards from a pair of seventeenth-century Dutch oak chest supports (figure 99).⁴⁶⁸ An antiquarian composite bedstead currently on display in the Queen Anne Room combines an impressive number of separate items, including a mid-seventeenth-century oak headboard, parts from early-sixteenth-century bedposts and an early-eighteenth-century wooden doll (figure 100).⁴⁶⁹ The handmade nails support the suggestion that it was constructed during the late-eighteenth century. The interest in Elizabethan furniture styles led to a market for this sort of composite piece, and J.C. Loudon writes in 1829 that: 'there are abundant remains of every kind of Elizabethan furniture to be purchased of collectors. These, when in fragments, are put together, and, made up into every

⁴⁶⁷ Chinnery and Chinnery, *Cotehele House*, COT.F.10.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid*, COT.F.68.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid*, COT.F.82.

article of furniture in use'.⁴⁷⁰ The author acknowledges the inauthenticity of such creations, which were aimed at interest rather than accuracy. The furniture at Cotehele, however, *was* designed to appear authentic and to fit in with the historical aura; the intention was very much that it should seem the items had been *in situ* since the construction of the house, or not too long afterwards.

Although genuinely an old property, Cotehele had been furnished to give the impression that the interior and contents had remained untouched since an earlier age, and that they had been perfectly preserved in time. The house which bears the best comparison with Cotehele is Haddon Hall, and although not acknowledging the guidebooks, Arundell noted: 'there is a remarkable resemblance between the plan of the building at Cothele and that of *Haddon Hall*', and he calls attention to the two inner courtyards, the embattled gateways and the turrets in each case.⁴⁷¹ He felt that both properties gave: 'the completest and most interesting ideas of our ancient halls or mansions, and their different compartments'.⁴⁷²

Cotehele House and Haddon Hall

Built in the fifteenth century, with eleventh century origins and existing traces, Haddon Hall, like Cotehele, retains much of its original appearance.⁴⁷³ Haddon Hall had four guidebooks published by different authors between 1836 and 1842, all heavily illustrated with black and white engravings which featured characters in period dress, and it is possible that Arundel and Condry knew of Haddon Hall from one or more of these; a direct influence cannot be ruled out.⁴⁷⁴

Haddon Hall had ceased to be used by the family as a main residence in 1703, when Sir John Manners, 9th Earl of Rutland, moved to Belvoir Castle, leaving Haddon

⁴⁷⁰ J.C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture: containing Numerous Designs for Dwellings, Each Design Accompanied by Analytical and Critical Remarks*, (London: Longman, Rees Orme, Brown, Green & Longman, 1835, p. 1102).

⁴⁷¹ Condry, *Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

⁴⁷³ B. Cleary, *Haddon Hall, Bakewell, Derbyshire: the home of Lord Edward Manners*, (Derby: Heritage House Group Ltd, 2005).

⁴⁷⁴ S. Rayner, *The History and antiquities of Haddon Hall, illustrated by 32 highly finished drawings with an account of the hall in its present state*, (Derby: Robert Mosely, 1836); 'G.V.', *Haddon Hall in the Olden Time and a Description of the Mansion in 1838*, (London: J. Williams, 1838); G. Cattermole, George, *Illustrations of Haddon Hall*, (1839) & D. Morison, *Views of Haddon Hall*, (London: Henry Craves, 1842).

Hall as an historical artefact in much the same way as Cotehele was.⁴⁷⁵ This was emphasised by an illustration on the front cover of an armour-clad knight on a rearing horse in front of the castellated property (figure 101).⁴⁷⁶ In a further illustration, there is the placement of a broken chain and discarded plumed hat on a stone floor, which suggests that a prisoner has escaped from a dungeon, in spite of there being no record of such a room of restraint at Haddon Hall (figure 102). This takes the theme of imprisonment further into implied narrative than the Cotehele guide, which just showed a 'prison' on the floor plan.

Samuel Rayner depicts images of couples in period costume perambulating the grounds, and a servant bringing a tray of food and drink to a seated couple indoors (figure 103). The theme of a well-serviced environment that was discussed as present in the Cotehele guide, was also depicted in the Haddon guides. Similarly the issue of family values is referenced. A family of three at Cotehele quietly spend time together, whilst in the Haddon image of the Long Gallery, the harmony is emphasised by a woman playing a guitar whilst the children dance or look on calmly (figure 84 & figure 104). The theme of social interaction is taken further in a view of the Great Hall at Haddon shows a night of Tudor revelry which is a reminder of early hospitality, an admired aspect of a previous era which was illustrated with more restraint in the tenants' dinner being prepared for in a Cotehele image (figure 105). In both cases there is the implication of servants and aristocracy co-existing in happy harmony; the images could serve as an escape into an imagined former, safer England, removed from the industrial and economic change of the time.⁴⁷⁷ Another theme which appears in both the Haddon Hall and Cotehele guides is that of gentle romance, seen in an illustration of the dining room at Haddon Hall in which a couple lean towards each other with implied intimacy (figure 106). In the same way as the illustrations at Cotehele, the theme is expanded by showing a bedroom with discarded clothes (figure 107).

It seems somewhat inconsistent that the Haddon guides show much revelry and dining, but also an illustration of a completely empty kitchen which appears rather in

⁴⁷⁵ Cleary, *Haddon Hall, Bakewell Derbyshire*, p. 11.

⁴⁷⁶ 'G.U.', *Haddon Hall in the Olden Time and a Description of the Mansion in 1838*, (London: J. Williams, 1838).

⁴⁷⁷ Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, p.21 & . Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist*, p.134.

decay (figure 108). The guide thus emphasises that the house is not occupied and is falling into neglect. The Cotehele guide instead showed a well-stocked and active kitchen, which tallies with the house still being used for occasional visits, as shown by the letter-heading of, and comments in, many of Caroline's letters.⁴⁷⁸ Instead the hint of decay is shown in the West Tower being heavily clad in ivy, and the description of some of the rooms such as the porter's lodge on the plan being that it is 'in decay' (figure 80).

The illustrations stray further into implied narrative in the Haddon Hall guides, with the depiction of a young man opening a door from 'Dorothy Vernon's staircase' (figure 109). The stairs lead to the long gallery from where Dorothy Vernon was said to have eloped with John Manners; in fact it has been established that the stairs were built in 1649, many decades after the couples' death, with no evidence that there was a staircase there at all before this date.⁴⁷⁹ The legend of an elopement cannot be substantiated, and is unlikely, as Dorothy Vernon and John Manners lived at Haddon Hall as husband and wife, apparently happily and unchallenged until her death in 1584.⁴⁸⁰ It was the sort of story that could inject a sense of romantic drama into the visits of those who could now identify with the setting: it brought alive an otherwise dormant, uninhabited house. The equivalent in the Cotehele guide was the apocryphal story of Richard Edgcumbe fleeing from Richard III's soldiers over the cliff, which was paired with the illustration of the Chapel in the Wood.

In summary, many of the values of the age are highlighted in the Cotehele and in the Haddon Hall guides, with a nostalgia for the past evoked. This nostalgia is emphasised in the Condry pictures by pale colours in some of the guidebook copies. The pictorial devices used to depict both houses, such as the presence of servants, the suggestion of decay, the reference to apocryphal stories and the presence of discarded clothes, as well as the use of historical dress, suggest that Condry had been directly influenced by the books about Haddon Hall. In addition, the strong similarity between the frontispieces to *Cotehele on the Banks of the Tamar* and to *Mansions of England in the Olden Time* suggests that Condry had been influenced by Joseph Nash's publication.

⁴⁷⁸ C. Edgcumbe 'Letters of Caroline Edgcumbe née Feilding', in Lacock Abbey Collection LA 33.

⁴⁷⁹ Cleary, *Haddon Hall*, p. 56.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

The evocation of the ‘Olden Time’

The main periods of history that the Cotehele guide refers to are the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries. First of all the text states that ‘Cothele in the present day, is the Cothele of Henry VII’ and claims that the furniture has been in place since that time or shortly after, with ‘the latest not more modern than the reign of Elizabeth!’⁴⁸¹ The frontispiece illustration seems to show figures dressed in costume from this early period, and there is also a depiction of the preparation for a tenants’ dinner which references early traditions of hospitality and Christmas revelry (figures 81 & 85). The text elaborated at length on the customs of the Edgcumbe family members and events of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This fascination for ‘Merry England’ which is both discussed in the text and highlighted in the illustrations, has been described as an interest in the moral code of an earlier, supposedly less corrupt, period in England when the rules of chivalry informed behaviour,⁴⁸² and as a desire for a regressive escape from an increasingly industrial era.⁴⁸³ Andrew Sanders has hypothesised that the period of most fascination for the Victorians was the time of Elizabeth I, although with some critical judgement of the monarch herself.⁴⁸⁴ He wrote that for the Victorians, the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I were ‘the truest embodiment of secular English history’.⁴⁸⁵ He also theorised the early nineteenth-century interest in history as both an imaginative escape from the present, but also as the chance to learn lessons from the past which could be applied to the present.⁴⁸⁶

Arundell, writer of the text in the Cotehele book, certainly seemed to revel in the escapist aspect of the days of feasting in the Great Hall, and he elaborated on the characters from the Edgcumbe family in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries and on the deeds they carried out.⁴⁸⁷ He thus described this ancient revelry, but the tenants’ dinner that is depicted in the illustration has figures in dress contemporary with the early Victorian period and so references the continuation of an ancient custom. This

⁴⁸¹ Condry, *Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*, c. 1845, p. 1-2.

⁴⁸² Girouard, *The Return to Camelot*.

⁴⁸³ C. Dellheim, *The Face of the Past: the Preservation of the Medieval Inheritance in Victorian England*, (Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 13.

⁴⁸⁴ A. Sanders, *In the Olden Time: Victorians and the British Past*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 15-66.

⁴⁸⁵ Sanders, *In the Olden Time*, p. 23.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 4.

⁴⁸⁷ Condry, *Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*.

implication of continuity of the ritual of hospitality across the generations not only reflected well on the generous conduct of the Edgcumbe family, but also showed the continuity of their lineage. The method of the combination of elements from different periods has not featured in the secondary literature of the 'Olden Time', but is a key approach used in the Cotehele book. Different periods were referenced within one illustration and also in different illustrations, and this created a sense of history as timeless and of a merging of the past and present in a seamless fashion. It was an innovative approach for the depiction of history in the country house guidebook, but it fits in with a Victorian view of history as more generalised than specific. Although the guidebook glosses over any differences between the periods represented, it does give a sense of the house and the family's enduring continuity across these different eras.

Arundell also referred to the time of Charles I in text. The Civil War has been written about as a time which the Victorians felt had contemporary parallels, both in a variety of political tensions, but also in the distant view of repressive regimes abroad.⁴⁸⁸ In fact the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe had become involved in diplomatic negotiations in the incident at Palermo whilst he was travelling, and detailed his contribution to the resolution in favour of the Bourbon rulers of Sicily in a published book in 1849.⁴⁸⁹ It is striking that there was a contemporary parallel to the English Civil War that the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe himself had direct involvement in, and of which he wrote a published account. The calm soldiers in the Cotehele illustrations might have served a reassuring function, offering a remembrance of a period so cataclysmic that it resulted in the execution of a king, but from which the country as a whole was able to endure and recover. The representations therefore potentially served the function of creating a sense of group identity; in a similar way Charles Dellheim has written of the Victorian cult of King Alfred as creating 'revivified national consciousness, pride and identity'.⁴⁹⁰ Arundell and Condry conveyed a synthesised sense of English history with which the early Victorian reader could identify, and which placed the aristocratic owner at the fulcrum of this new national identity.

⁴⁸⁸ Sanders, *In the Olden Time*, p.100.

⁴⁸⁹ E. Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, *Extracts from a Journal Kept during the Revolution at Palermo in the year 1848 by the Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe*, (London: James Ridgway, 1849).

⁴⁹⁰ Dellheim, *The Face of the Past*, p.71.

Cotehele in County Guides

The decision to emphasise the historical features of Cotehele in the guidebook is in contrast to the way that the house was represented in other publications such as county guides and views of seats. This contrast is further evidence that the representation of Cotehele in the guidebook as a comfortable decaying place of historical interest was a conscious and deliberate choice. The preoccupation of county guides, however, was to categorise properties by type, and Cotehele was thus categorised as a rural property, the lesser seat of a member of the aristocracy. In addition to his series of county guides with Brayley, Britton wrote more extensive guides to both Cornwall and Devon, which could later be bought bound together.⁴⁹¹ As simply the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe's secondary country house, Cotehele was described as 'this venerable mansion', and there is no sense of grandeur conveyed in the illustrations.

In the first of Britton's Cornwall guides written with Brayley, the West Tower is seen with a distant view of the Tamar, which serves to contextualise the property within the county of Cornwall, close to the border with Devon which can be seen in the distance beyond the river (figure 110). This view is made impossible by dense trees, which would also have been the case in the nineteenth century; and in fact it is the other side of the house where the river runs below. As noted in 1824, 'it is situated on a pleasing eminence on the banks of the Tamar; but being almost surrounded with wood, the river can only be seen from some of the windows in the upper apartments'.⁴⁹² In Stockdale's slightly later county guide, there is a view of the West Tower, and no view of the river (figure 111).⁴⁹³ The same viewpoint is repeated in Britton's second and more extensive guide to Cornwall, although in this illustration the informal impression is highlighted by the placing of four cows, one of which is being milked, in the foreground of the illustration (figure 112).⁴⁹⁴ It is worth noting that none of these illustrations of the West Tower show it with any foliage, unlike the ivy-clad version by Condry only a decade or so later (figure 91).

⁴⁹¹ J. Britton, *Devon and Cornwall Illustrated in a Series of Views of Castles, Seats of the Nobility, Mines, Picturesque Scenery, Towns, Public Buildings, Churches, Antiquities & c.*, (London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1832).

⁴⁹² F.W.L Stockdale, *Excursions in the County of Cornwall, Comprising a Concise Historical and Topographical Delineation of the Principal Towns and Villages etc.* (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1824), p. 128.

⁴⁹³ Stockdale, *Excursions in the County of Cornwall*, p. 128.

⁴⁹⁴ J. Britton, *Cornwall Illustrated*, pp. 16-17.

In common with other entries about country houses in this and other county guides, Britton makes reference to the history of the family and lineage. The historical interior is described in the text, with ‘the suits of ancient armour’ and ‘mouldering tapestry’ being described. He stops short of describing the ancient furniture, however, which he concedes was, in spite of being from the “olden time”, collected by ‘the late and the present Earl of Edgcumbe’.⁴⁹⁵ The other county guides also unmask the artifice: Lyson’s *Magna Britannia*, which does not include an illustration of Cotehele, also acknowledges that: ‘Cotehele House, which retains its ancient appearance, has been fitted up with furniture corresponding with its appearance, and is occasionally visited by its present noble owner, the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe’.⁴⁹⁶

Cotehele was not illustrated in any of the series such as Neale’s *Views of Seats* or even in other publications which depicted the country house of the ‘Olden Time’. It can thus be seen that the lavish colour illustrations in the Cotehele guidebook went far beyond the simple West Tower view of the county guides. Both the interior and exterior of Cotehele were depicted in illustrations heavily staffed by characters in historical costume of roughly the Civil War period, and there was a sense of implied narrative and fictionalised history in many of the scenes shown. As with Woburn Abbey, the county guide came first, and the individual guidebook continued the story of the house by conveying a sense of the identity of the owner and by weaving an implied narrative.

Conclusion

‘Any man with money can build a new house but an old respected mansion...that is above price can only be found in the possession of the old families’.⁴⁹⁷

In the quote above from her memoirs written of her time as mistress of Charlecote in the first half of the nineteenth century, Mary Lucy emphasised one of the benefits she perceived of owning an old house. There was an implication of worth in the longevity

⁴⁹⁵ Lysons, *Cornwall Magna Britannia*, p.53.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ A. Fairfax-Lucy, *Mistress of Charlecote: The Memoirs of Mary Elizabeth Lucy*, (London: Orion Books Ltd, 2002), p.36, [1983].

of genealogy linked with the ownership of an ancient mansion. In setting out Cotehele with 'antique' furniture, the Edgumbes protected their legacy, enhancing its ancient appearance, and emphasised that they were an 'old family'. As well as an aura of worth, Cotehele offered the family an object of historical interest for visitors. Queen Victoria had already seen Mount Edgumbe in 1843, so when she visited Cornwall again three years later, she was invited to Cotehele. The interest in the romanticism of Cotehele fitted in with contemporary tastes, and there were precedents in the guidebook genre of the depiction of history in the country seat and in the use of historical costume in the illustrations of the property. Haddon Hall's guidebooks in particular displayed a very similar emphasis to the guidebook to Cotehele. It would be *Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar* which indulged the early Victorian interest in nostalgia to the furthest extreme, and it represents a peak in that style of representation of the country house.

Chapter 4

The Deepdene: the guidebook and the picturesque

Art and Nature have jointly co-operated to give picturesque features and scenic beauties to this place. Its grounds are tossed about like troubled sea in a storm, into lofty eminences and deep hollows like the untraceable surface of the ocean, the inequalities of outline and aspect seem endlessly various and capricious.⁴⁹⁸

Introduction

The case studies so far in this thesis have centred on properties owned by members of the aristocracy. This chapter will focus on wealthy but untitled Thomas Hope, who bought the Deepdene as a country seat. The property had been built in the 1760s by Charles Howard as a Palladian style mansion on a site of undulating countryside in Dorking, Surrey, and it was sold by his son, also Charles, to Sir William Burrell, in 1791; his descendant Sir Charles Merrik Burrell sold the property to Thomas Hope in 1808.⁴⁹⁹ Hope's wealth had come from his family who were successful bankers: originally from Scotland they had established Hope and Company bank in Amsterdam, where he grew up. As a member of a family not only considered *nouveau riche*, but also foreign, it was a struggle for Hope to be included as a key member of society; his lack of title was another deficit. His purchase of the Deepdene, an established country estate, was therefore part of his attempt to be accepted into society.

It will be argued that one of the two guidebooks of the Deepdene was not intended for a tourist market, but as a personal record of the property for the owner, and possibly as a gift for his wife. In addition the manuscript serves as a summary of a particular theory of estate design of which the Deepdene was seen to be an exemplar, and of which the author was a proponent. As described in the quote above, variety in nature was a central principle of these ideas. Variation in architectural elements was also part of the theory, and in line with this tenet Hope had developed the property from a 'small common-place house' to 'a spacious mansion of pleasing colour, diversified

⁴⁹⁸ J. Britton, *The History of Hope's Deepdene, Vol. II*, VOS 96, p. 39, RIBA Library, London.

⁴⁹⁹ J. Orbell, *Thomas Hope (1769-1831)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13737?docPos=6> [accessed 26.03.2013].

and varied in its features'.⁵⁰⁰ In conveying this impression, the guidebook illustrations strayed into a fictional enhancement of the landscape.

A published guide to the Deepdene was written by John Preston Neale in 1826.⁵⁰¹ A second unpublished and unfinished guide was commissioned from John Britton also in the 1820s;⁵⁰² neither of these books has received much, if any, attention in the literature to date. An exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, in 2008 about Thomas Hope, exhibited some of the watercolours which John Britton had commissioned for his book on the Deepdene for the first time. In the accompanying catalogue, these images were described as the only remaining depiction of the Deepdene as it was in the 1820s; it was changed radically a decade later, and was subsequently demolished in 1968.⁵⁰³ Further analysis of these illustrations will show the ways in which the Deepdene was represented to convey particular aspects of its appearance, and how these aspects related to the agendas of the author and owner. Most of the images held at the Royal Institute of British Architects, as well as the written manuscript which is lodged there have not been discussed in the literature, and this chapter will fill that gap.

David Watkin has suggested that Britton's half-finished guide to the Deepdene was intended as a partner volume to his book on John Soane's house at Lincoln's Inn Fields: the latter described the picturesque in an urban interior, the former was a potential description of the picturesque on a country estate.⁵⁰⁴ It will be seen that there are indeed many similarities between Britton's book on Soane's house and his unfinished manuscript on the Deepdene. Hope's life has already been studied in some depth, so this chapter will focus on the evidence provided by this slightly mysterious unfinished work.⁵⁰⁵ The word picturesque has been debated since its appearance as an aesthetic category from the eighteenth century, in essence to describe a scene worthy of

⁵⁰⁰ J. Britton, 'Letter to Mrs. Hope from John Britton', in: *A historical and descriptive account by John Britton of The Deepdene*, S2589 S.R., Minet Library, Lambeth, London.

⁵⁰¹ J.P. Neale, *An Account of the Deep-Dene in Surrey the seat of Thomas Hope Esq. to whom these views and illustrations are respectfully inscribed by JP Neale*, (London: printed by J. M'Creery, 1826).

⁵⁰² Britton, *The History of Hope's Deepdene*, & Britton, *A historical and descriptive account by John Britton of The Deepdene*.

⁵⁰³ D. Watkin & P. Hewatt-Jaboor (eds), *Thomas Hope: Regency Designer*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2008).

⁵⁰⁴ Watkin & Hewatt-Jaboor, *Thomas Hope*, p. 449.

⁵⁰⁵ See D. Watkin, *Thomas Hope and the Neo-Classical Idea*, (London: John Murray, 1968) & Watkin & Hewatt-Jaboor, *Thomas Hope*.

depiction as a picture. The varying subjective applications of the picturesque have been described at length in the literature, but here the term will be used to refer to the particular theories of house owners John Soane and Thomas Hope, and the writer John Britton, as elaborated in the guidebooks described.⁵⁰⁶

The Deepdene Guidebooks

J.P. Neale's 1826 guide to the Deepdene was derived from research and illustrations that he had completed for his series *Views of Seats*.⁵⁰⁷ He decided to publish his writings and illustrations on the Deepdene as an independent volume in addition to including it as an entry in this series.⁵⁰⁸ Also in the 1820s Thomas Hope commissioned John Britton to have illustrations painted of the Deepdene, and to write an accompanying text. This work was begun with a series of watercolours and drawings being produced in 1820-21, and a further series of drawings and some unfinished text was produced in 1825-6. It is not known why this work was never completed nor published; the unfinished work still exists in archives as a record of a particular moment in time. That it aimed to depict a theory of the picturesque is certain; it is notable that nowhere in the script is there a view of the symmetrical northwest front, instead a variety of asymmetric views of the house were chosen which supported this new development of picturesque theory.

John Britton, antiquary, topographer and architectural historian, was a highly prolific author, whose publications included his collaboration with Edward Brayley on a series of county histories in the series *The Beauties of England and Wales*.⁵⁰⁹ He also independently embarked on a survey of the cathedrals of Britain, and a series under the title *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*. He wrote a few books about individual country houses starting with two for Wiltshire properties: a small visitor guidebook to

⁵⁰⁶ S. Copley & P. Garside, *The Politics of the Picturesque*, (Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1-11, [1994].

⁵⁰⁷ J.P. Neale, *Views of Seats*, 2 series, vol. III, unpaginated.

⁵⁰⁸ Neale, *An Account of the Deep-Dene*.

⁵⁰⁹ See J.M. Crook, 'John Britton and the Genesis of the Gothic Revival', in *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed by J. Summerson, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), pp. 98-121 & J.M. Crook, 'John Britton (1771-1857)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3458?docPos=1> [accessed 17.09.2013].

Corsham Court in 1806, which was followed by more lavish folio volumes to Fonthill Abbey in 1823. These would be followed by guides to Cassiobury, Hertfordshire, in 1837 and Toddington Hall, Gloucestershire, in 1841.⁵¹⁰ It was before the publication of these last three luxury works, that he was approached by Thomas Hope to commission some images of his country seat at the Deepdene, and to write an accompanying text. John Britton's work at the Deepdene is split between two separate archives: one unfinished, handwritten manuscript with drawings and watercolour illustrations begun in 1821-2, is held at the Royal Institute of British Architects' library in London, a second manuscript with a set of more completed images from 1825-6 is held at the Minet Library, Lambeth.

There are several potential reasons why Britton's book on the Deepdene was never finished. As a highly prolific author, Britton might simply have been too busy; however, he does not seem to have left other unfinished works, and it was certainly not part of his usual work pattern to do this. Practicality is a more likely reason, in particular that building work continued at the Deepdene until at least well into the 1820s.⁵¹¹ The book would have been a more accurate record if it represented the finished house, so it is a possible reason for the delay in completion; the house does not seem to have been fully finished until the late 1820s. The written text that Britton had almost finished was the dedication, the preface, the introduction and the history of the family and of the families of the earlier occupants; the description of the actual house was the missing part of the text that had not even been begun. Hope died unexpectedly in 1831 not long after the house was finished, causing an obvious disruption to any plans to finish the book.

Almost immediately following Hope's death, his son Henry Hope set about changing the look of the property to be more symmetrical, moving it away from his father's vision of the Deepdene. The house was no longer an example of the picturesque that Hope had designed and that Britton had been keen to describe. A few years later, Britton wrote a description of the Deepdene for *A Topographical History of*

⁵¹⁰ Britton, *An Historical Account of Corsham House*; Britton, *Graphical and Literary Illustrations of Fonthill Abbey*; Britton, *The History and Description, with Graphic Illustrations, of Cassiobury Park*, & Britton, *Graphic illustrations, with historical and descriptive accounts of Toddington*.

⁵¹¹ Watkin & Hewatt-Jaboor, *Thomas Hope*, p. 221.

Surrey.⁵¹² This description of the property was in contrast to the picturesque representation that is be elaborated on in this chapter. Later comparison of these very different representations of the same property will emphasise the extent to which the earlier account highlighted certain picturesque principles.

Thomas Hope and the Deepdene books

The Deepdene was very much a vehicle for the representation of Hope's interests and ideals. On coming of age in 1794, Hope began an extensive Grand Tour which spanned Europe as well as Turkey, Egypt and Syria, and his portrait of 1798 references these visits with the use of Turkish dress (figure 113); the Deepdene would develop in an eclectic mixture of styles reflecting these varied influences.⁵¹³ Hope finally settled in London at a house in Duchess Street where he housed his extensive and growing collection of sculpture. Here he encouraged visits from others to view his collections, but at the Deepdene, members of the public were not admitted. This provides evidence that the proposed book on the Deepdene was not intended for a tourist readership.

It might be seen as surprising that Thomas Hope himself did not attempt to write a book about the Deepdene; by the 1820s, he had authored several books himself. One of his books in particular, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, contained illustrations and descriptions of furniture and interiors from his house at Duchess Street in London.⁵¹⁴ By this and other publications he hoped to influence public taste. We might therefore have expected him to have written a book about the Deepdene, which he had also altered to fit his own rules of interiors as well as his theory of the combination of irregularity in exterior architecture with the natural surroundings.

One possible reason for his reluctance to commit his thoughts to paper about his own property at the Deepdene might have been, in part, due to a crushing review he received on his book about Duchess Street. He certainly knew of this review as Britton

⁵¹² E.W.Brayley et al. *A Topographical History of Surrey*, vol. 5, (London: G.Willis, 1850), pp. 79-90.

⁵¹³ Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ T. Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1807).

refers to it in his guide to John Soane's house.⁵¹⁵ Published in *The Edinburgh Review*, it is scathing in almost every sentence. It first of all rejects the very aim of publishing a book on interiors, claiming it is frivolous to produce a book on 'wigs, spencers, boots and pantaloons'.⁵¹⁶ It states there is contempt in England for those who occupy themselves with such 'paltry and fantastical luxuries' and it criticises the content of *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* over nine pages, and asserts that 'we do not know that we have ever met with anything, out of a newspaper, so exquisitely bombastic, pedantic and trashy, as the composition of this colossal volume'.⁵¹⁷ If Hope was not wounded by these damning comments, he might at least have felt that the ideas about the Deepdene would receive a more enthusiastic reception if from the pen of an established architectural writer rather than his own.

The critical review did not have an immediate effect on Hope's written output, for he published an essay a year later, *On the Art of Gardening*, and a book on ancient costume a year after that.⁵¹⁸ He was to suffer another public attacks, however, including a six verse attack on Hope's pretensions as an architectural connoisseur which was published anonymously by Henry Tresham in 1804.⁵¹⁹ A later public attack, however, would be more humiliating for Hope than either the review or the satirical poem. In 1810 he fell out with artist Antoine Dubost from whom he had commissioned a portrait of his wife and son: the artist completed the work, but took exception to Hope's dictatorial monitoring of his work, which Hope later criticised.⁵²⁰ Hope also bought the celebrated painting *Sword of Damocles* from Dubost, who was later furious when Hope cut the painting down to fit a hanging scheme at his Duchess Street house and had the position of the sword altered. Dubost felt these changes ruined the whole meaning of the painting, and he wrote to Hope complaining that he had destroyed '*le fruit de vingt*

⁵¹⁵ J. Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting, Exemplified by a Series of illustrations With Descriptive accounts of the House and Galleries of John Soane*, (London: printed for the author, 1827), p. 23.

⁵¹⁶ Edinburgh Review, Reviews, ART. XIV - 'Household Furniture and Internal Decorations executed from Designs, by Thomas Hope. Folio pp. 178. London 1807', *Edinburgh Review*, July 1807, p. 479.

⁵¹⁷ Edinburgh Review, 'Household Furniture and Internal Decorations'.

⁵¹⁸ see Watkin, *Thomas Hope and the Neo-Classical Idea*, p. XXIII & T. Hope, *Costume of the Ancients*, (London: William Miller, 1809).

⁵¹⁹ H. Tresham, *Hope's Garland, on a letter addressed to Francis Annesley Esqr. M.P. by Thomas Hope Esqr.* (London, 1804), at Yale Centre for British Art at <http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/2036270> [record accessed 09.04.14].

⁵²⁰ R.E. Spear, 'Antoine Dubost's 'Sword of Damocles' and Thomas Hope: An Anglo-French Skirmish', *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 148, no. 1241, August 2006, pp. 520-527.

années d'étude'.⁵²¹ In addition there was a complex disagreement over the terms of payment for the work.

Dubost was inspired to wreak his revenge on Hope by exhibiting a satirical painting at an exhibition of his work in Pall Mall entitled *Beauty and the Beast*: the figure of beauty was recognisable as Mrs Hope, whilst the hairy beast from whom she recoils in revulsion, clearly Thomas Hope, offers her riches in return for marrying him. Hope became the laughing stock of London, as the couple were easily recognised: the painting touched a nerve, because Hope was thought to be unattractive, his wife a beauty.⁵²² Maria Edgeworth appears to refer to this incident in her diary in which she records visits to Duchess Street and Deepdene. She notes: 'I don't think Mr. Hope is at all a *bête* though she is a belle but perhaps I only think well of his taste and understanding because he was very civil to us'.⁵²³ Her interpretation of *bête* seems to be that his taste rather than his looks were being libelled, and later in the letters she does express strong dislike about the style of the interiors at the Deepdene.⁵²⁴ The issue of taste is raised in a pamphlet written by a Antoine Dubost as an attack on Hope and on the editor of *The Examiner* who had given an account of the incident favourable to Hope (Figure 114). Dubois wrote in the pamphlet about the bad review of Hope's writing, dismissed any thought that Hope might have 'good taste' and described his book *Household Furniture and Internal Decorations* as 'the bulky volume of splendid nonsense'.⁵²⁵

Again, Hope does not seem to have been deterred in his writing ambitions by either of these unfortunate experiences in the short term, for soon after the satirical by Dubost was exhibited he published a book on designs for modern costumes.⁵²⁶ It is possible that this work was already written at the time, and perhaps Hope thought to publish it anyway. It is certainly the case that after this date, however, no more books were published in Hope's name during his lifetime. In 1819 he had published the highly acclaimed novel *Anastasius*, but he took the precaution of writing

⁵²¹ A. Dubost, *Hunt and Hope*, (London, 1810).

⁵²² Watkin, *Thomas Hope and the Neoclassical Idea*.

⁵²³ M. Edgeworth, 'Letter to Sophy Ruxton, 16 May 1813', in C. Colvin (ed.) *Maria Edgeworth: Letters from England 1813-1844*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 56.

⁵²⁴ M. Edgeworth, 'Letter to Mrs. Edgeworth, 17 April 1819', in C. Colvin (ed.) *Maria Edgeworth*, pp. 193-199.

⁵²⁵ Dubost, *Hunt and Hope*, p. 39.

⁵²⁶ T. Hope, *Designs of Modern Costume & C.*, (London: Henry Setchell & Sons, c. 1811).

anonymously.⁵²⁷ This was to be the last piece of his own writing that he would see published: an essay *On the Origin and Prospects* was being prepared for publication when he died in 1831 and also *Historical Essays on Architecture* was published posthumously.⁵²⁸ He did not publish any books during the 1820s, therefore, so during the time that Britton was preparing the text and commissioning the images for a book on the Deepdene, Hope had a decade-long break from writing.

It is known that one of Hope's preoccupations during this period was to establish himself as a gentleman in English society, which was difficult for a couple of reasons. Firstly, although of Scottish descent, having grown up in Amsterdam he was thus still considered a foreigner in London society. In addition his family wealth was derived from banking. Both of these reasons counted against him when he attempted to purchase a knighthood in 1823 for £10,000; he was turned down.⁵²⁹ Whether or not a contributory factor in his decade-long absence from published writing, his attempts to gain social acceptance and status were certainly a focus for him during this decade. It was therefore Britton that was commissioned to write the guide to the Deepdene, and it was he who commissioned artists Penry Williams and William Bartlett to paint a series of watercolours. It is possible that this commission was an attempt to rehabilitate his reputation as a gentleman of refinement and taste, albeit for a limited audience.

There is some doubt about the reason for the commission; the outcome is likely to have been for the personal use of Thomas Hope and his family. Firstly, Britton notes in his autobiography that the book was never intended for publication.⁵³⁰ This suggests that the book was intended for Hope's personal reference and perhaps to show to friends, rather than to influence taste as he had intended with his book on his house at Duchess Street in London. Another potential use is hinted at when Britton's handwritten manuscript is consulted. He had already written the dedication, and it was to Mrs Hope but excluded her husband: perhaps it was intended as a gift from husband to wife. Britton wrote: 'To your acute and discriminating eye, Madam, these varied

⁵²⁷ T. Hope, *Anatasius, or, Memoirs of a Greek*, 3 vols, (London: John Murray, 1819).

⁵²⁸ T. Hope, *An Essay on the Origin and Prospects of Man*, 3 vols, (London: Hubert de Lisle, 1831) & T. Hope, *An Historical Essay on Architecture by the Late Thomas Hope, illustrated by drawings made by him in Italy and Germany*, (London: John Murray, 1835).

⁵²⁹ Watkin, *Thomas Hope and the Neoclassical Idea*, p. 17.

⁵³⁰ J. Britton & T.E. Jones, *A Descriptive Account of the Literary Works of John Britton (from 1800 to 1849) being a second part of his autobiography*, vol. 2, (London, 1849), appendix.

scenes must be pleasing', and he continues to comment on the pleasing variety at the Deepdene, as well as complimenting 'the well-stored mind of Mr. Hope'.⁵³¹ These facts do not preclude the possibility that Britton might have intended to publish material from the Deepdene in a different form later on; this suggestion is supported by the title which he gave to one folio of material in the Minet Library archives: *The Union of the Picturesque in Scenery and Architecture with Domestic Beauties*. It is worth noting that this title was not written at the head of the unfinished handwritten text for the book currently held with the rest of the material for the book in the R.I.B.A. Library archives: this was titled *Historical and Descriptive account of the Deepdene*, nor the other title with the Minet material: *A historical and descriptive account by John Britton of The Deepdene*. The existence of these different titles is suggestive of two different motivations on the part of Britton: that is, primarily to produce a text for the private use of Thomas Hope and his wife, but with a potential sub-agenda of publishing more on his theories of architecture in a subsequent volume. *The Union of the Picturesque in Scenery and Architecture with Domestic Beauties*, is indeed more suggestive of a title of a published work: it not only neatly summarises Britton's theory of the picturesque, but it is similar and complementary to the title of another of his published works.

The Union of the Picturesque in Scenery and Architecture with Domestic Beauties

In 1827, Britton published a book on John Soane's house and museum at Lincoln's Inn Fields called *The Union of Architecture Sculpture and Painting*;⁵³² it is this volume which it has been hypothesised was intended to be a companion volume with his book on the Deepdene.⁵³³ Indeed the two titles sound as if the books were intended to be a pair. From the existing manuscript and illustration describing the Deepdene it seems that, as the title suggests, the finished volume would have shown a development of the picturesque in which the property becomes at one with nature. This would have complemented the volume about John Soane's house which focused solely on the interior. Indeed the text about Soane's house elaborated on interior principles, such as the use of light, which is consistent with the interior illustrations of the Deepdene.

⁵³¹ Britton, *The History of Hope's Deepdene*, vol II.

⁵³² Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting*.

⁵³³ Watkin, *Thomas Hope and the Neo-Classical Idea*, p. 165.

Britton made a claim for originality in architecture to take precedence over a requirement to adhere to classical principles, a belief which Hope shared and which he acted on at the Deepdene.⁵³⁴

Britton devoted 23 pages to his theory of the picturesque in the house interior before he even began to discuss the main subject of John Soane's house in *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting*. He highlighted around 15 key principles on the combination of architecture and contents in an interior to produce his assessment of the best effects. These are: an emphasis on architecture over upholstery; originality; stimuli to the imagination; use of sculpture; bold contrasts of light and shade; simplicity; picturesque light effects; views and vistas; variety of room form and size; use of varying shades of colour; use of much glass and mirrors; employment of vestibules and staircases; conservatories; ornament of a style borrowed from the antique and finally well-designed furniture.⁵³⁵

Interior illustrations: reflecting the scene, framing the view and varying the perspective

The interior illustrations commissioned by Britton illustrate many of the principles which he had also elaborated on in his guide to Soane's house. Unfortunately he did not write any text about the interiors at the Deepdene, although it is known from the table of contents that he intended to.⁵³⁶ He wrote of a variety of effects such as natural ceiling lighting and the use of mirrors. John Dixon Hunt writes of the magical qualities of mirrors which John Ruskin was impressed with later in the century, as a tool of the picturesque and as a symbolic of self-reflection, both imaginative and spiritual.⁵³⁷ This concept would be taken further in the last half of the century in John Tenniel's illustrations of Alice and the accompanying text in *Through the Looking Glass and What Alice Saw There*.⁵³⁸ It will be seen how both Soane's house and the Deepdene employed these effects.

⁵³⁴ Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting*, p. x.

⁵³⁵ Ibid, pp. 1-23.

⁵³⁶ J. Britton, *Historical and Descriptive Notices of the Deepdene*, R.I.B.A. Library, VOS96.

⁵³⁷ J.D. Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture*, (Cambridge Massachusetts & London: MIT Press, 1997), pp. 193-212, [1994].

⁵³⁸ L. Carroll, *Through the Looking Glass, and What Alice Saw There, with illustrations by John Tenniel*, (London: Macmillan Childrens' Books, 2007), [1871].

There were only five images commissioned by Britton which feature the interior of Deepdene: the circular conservatory, the ‘theatre of the arts’, the statue gallery, the boudoir and the library mantelpiece (figures 115-119). The theme of light, windows or mirrors is present in all of these images in some form. The interplay of shadow and light can be seen on the floor and stairs of the circular conservatory and the ‘theatre of the arts’, with square patches of light cast from the panes of an open door onto the levels of the ‘theatre’ levels. The open door to the right of the image opened onto the sculpture gallery as the plan shows, so although the large amount of light flooding in gives the impression that the door opens to the garden: the room in fact led into the orangery. This can be seen from a plan of the Deepdene. This plan was found on two separate pieces of fragile tracing paper at the Minet Library, which I have spliced together digitally to create the overall ground floor plan seen in figure 120.

The illustration of the statue gallery shows the use of overhead light from windows on an upper level, similar to some of the natural light schemes used to John Soane in his London house (figure 117). The breakfast room at Soane’s house for example, was illuminated by windows from a dome in the ceiling, which enabled a sense of space to be created in a fairly small room. Britton describes the effect: ‘The ceiling is formed by a flattened dome perforated by a lanthorn in the centre, and by four circles at the spandrels; to the north and south of which are arched roof-windows rising above the ceiling. These throw a vertical light on the side walls, so as to produce a very beautiful effect, and to show the architectural drawings that adorn them to the utmost advantage’.⁵³⁹ Hope’s sculpture gallery can be seen to be lit in a similar way (figure 116). The sense of space in the breakfast room was further enhanced by the use of mirrors, including ‘bookcases, panelled with mirrors’.⁵⁴⁰ The four ‘spandrels’ which Britton refers to had mirrors added to them later in the 1830s to enhance the effect.⁵⁴¹

The remaining two illustrations of interior rooms do not show windows, and have a much more interior feel; these do, however, contain mirrors. In the view of the boudoir, the mirror over the fireplace reflects some of the room that the viewer can see, but from a different angle (figure 118). In the view of the library chimney-piece, the image is mainly of the huge mirror over the fireplace, which reflects back the wall

⁵³⁹ Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting*, p.37.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 27.

⁵⁴¹ T. Knox, *Sir John Soane’s Museum London*, (London: Merrell, 2008), p. 126.

opposite; almost the entire view is therefore a reflected one (figure 119). This use of mirrors creates a variety of effects. First, to view a room partially through a mirror gives the sense of looking at a picture on the wall, and so the room itself becomes a piece of art within a piece of art; this device stresses the ‘picturesque’ qualities of the room. Secondly there is an unusual effect created in the repetition of images in the image of the library chimney-piece. The use of mirrors in these images demonstrates the effects that John Britton describes at Soane’s house, where he wrote that mirrors ‘extend the apparent dimensions of the room, and create the most magical effects’.⁵⁴²

Another element which Britton listed in his guide to Soane’s house as key to the interior picturesque is the use of a short run of stairs between rooms.⁵⁴³ These helped to add the variety of shape and perspective that Britton was so keen on as an enhancer of the picturesque, and short runs of stairs can be seen in three of the five interior illustrations: the illustration of the statue gallery, of the conservatory and of the ‘theatre of the arts’. In the latter, the stepped levels for the display of sculpture add a sense of the variety that Britton advocated, with the use of steps for display rather than for conveyance between rooms. Sculpture itself is another key elements in Britton’s picturesque, illustrated in this and the view of the statue gallery as the main focus, but as ancillary decorative elements in the remainder of the interior images.

The semi-circular shelves in the ‘theatre of the arts’ are reminiscent of the ancient amphitheatre, as suggested by the title of the room, and could have been partly inspired by Hope’s extensive Grand Tour (figure 116). In Hope’s book on the principles of architecture, he was able to draw on his European travels to discuss the spread of amphitheatres in Europe, and he notes the example at Arles in France, as well as the more famous Colosseum.⁵⁴⁴ There is another reason for this reference to the amphitheatre beyond a resonance with ancient culture as an interesting and creative form of display: the very land on which the Deepdene had been built consisted of a series of curved terraces which had been emphasised in the design of the garden by the previous owner. Britton mentions this appearance in his unfinished text: ‘Abrupt and gentle declivities – conical knolls, amphitheatrical curves – long and commanding ridges – narrow glens, with a few, but very few, spats of level lawn constitute the

⁵⁴² Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting*, p. 19.

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁴ Hope, *An Historical Essay on Architecture*, pp. 58-59.

natural features of this estate'.⁵⁴⁵ The use of a structure that resembled a mini amphitheatre within the house is therefore an echo of the terraces in the gardens outside. This leads on to a theme which was not discussed in Britton's guide to John Soane's house, but which seems to have formed the central principle of his intended guide to the Deepdene: that of the interaction between nature and architecture. As part of this theme, most of the illustrations of the interior have an element of nature or the exterior penetrating the interior of the property.

The statue gallery did not have plants in the interior, but as already described light streamed in from outside. This was also the case with the illustrations of the circular conservatory and the 'theatre of the arts', where open doors gave the appearance of rooms just on the verge of the exterior (figures 115 & 116). In the circular conservatory, a niche behind the central statue contains a *trompe l'oeil* of foliage: it could not have been a window as the niche backed onto a solid wall. The abundant foliage in the room gives the feeling of a garden, and the viewpoint of the image gives a sense of being outside, with the light that streams in and the leafy plants growing from ground level: in fact the viewing point of this illustration is the conservatory.

The room demonstrates three of the other principles from Britton's theory of the interior picturesque: the use of colour, ornamentation and architect-designed furniture.⁵⁴⁶ The image shows several variants on the colour red, varying from pale pink on the walls, to deep red on the drapes and on the mirror surround. Britton felt that the use of many different shades of the same colour within one room, added 'unity without monotony'.⁵⁴⁷ Adherence to this principle, Britton felt, was interesting and gave the variety he thought necessary without the garishness which he found unacceptable. Secondly the room was full of the ornamentation which Britton deemed necessary for interest; he was especially keen on 'tasteful adaptation of embellishments borrowed from the antique'.⁵⁴⁸ Hope's boudoir did not disappoint in this respect, and two swans with wings outstretched sat on top of the pediment to the day-bed; two flying horses graced the red marble frame of the mirror. This might be the same daybed of which

⁵⁴⁵ Britton, *The History of Hope's Deepdene*, p. 40.

⁵⁴⁶ Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting*, p. 15, p. 21 & p. 22.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 15.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 21.

Maria Edgeworth writes to her mother during a visit to the Deepdene that it has ‘embossed hieroglyphic *frights*’ and that the whole décor is ‘magnificently furnished but to my taste much too fine for a country house even putting the idea of comfort out of the question’ and ‘gilt but all hideous’.⁵⁴⁹

Finally, Britton advocated the use of architect-designed furniture: he felt that the architect’s job should not end with design of the structure, but should continue into the design of the furniture.⁵⁵⁰ This theory was certainly in line with Thomas Hope’s ideas, as evidenced in his ill-reviewed book on interior decoration which Britton referred to as ‘Mr. Hope’s useful volume’ in the Soane guide:⁵⁵¹ the day bed seen in the boudoir may have been from one of Hope’s own designs. There is a similarly elaborate day-bed or ‘settee’ in Hope’s book, although the decoration is different. He explains the method of deriving inspiration from different sources, and writes that the ends of this settee ‘are copied from antique chimæra of marble, in the studio of Cavaceppi at Rome’.⁵⁵²

It has been seen, therefore, that most of the principle of picturesque interior design advocated by Britton in his book on Soane’s house in London emphasised in the interior images of the Deepdene; doubtless Britton’s text on the interior would have included complementary description of these elements. There were no gardens at the Soane Museum for Britton to describe; he extended his theory of the picturesque in his writings and illustrations of the Deepdene.

Exterior illustrations: illuminating the scene, varying the view and firing the imagination

Most of the illustrations of the Deepdene commissioned by Britton were of the exterior, only a few of the interior. It is clear that Britton thought of the Deepdene as an ideal example of picturesque beauty in complement to the interior picturesque qualities at John Soane’s house as suggested in the titles he chose. Thus, the Deepdene was intended as an example of *The Union of the Picturesque in Scenery and Architecture*

⁵⁴⁹ M. Edgeworth, ‘Letter to Mrs. Edgeworth, 17 April 1819’, in C. Colvin (ed.) *Maria Edgeworth*, pp.196-7.

⁵⁵⁰ Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting*, p. 22.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 23.

⁵⁵² Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*.

with *Domestic Beauties* and so there was more focus on the exterior of the grounds in the illustrations commissioned.⁵⁵³ Hope himself had engaged in the picturesque debate in his published writing. He had been invited to write the introduction to the guidebook for White Knights in 1819, a country seat of the Duke of Marlborough who also owned Blenheim. In this text Hope elaborated on Uvedale Price's call for variety in the garden by stating that gradual inclines were best, and that 'we cannot find space for the rock and the precipice'.⁵⁵⁴ In the handwritten text by John Britton in the R.I.B.A. library, he also engaged with the debate on the picturesque, which he acknowledged has been 'the subject of contest with poets and writers'.⁵⁵⁵ He wrote that man's inherent interest in variety should be indulged, but with gradual variation rather than with dramatic contrasts as 'the mind feels a natural antipathy to ill, monstrous contrasts' which he felt 'do not harmonise in juxtaposition together'.⁵⁵⁶ These ideas could be seen in the depictions of the Deepdene commissioned by Hope and Britton. Not only were there no strong contrasts between elements in the garden such as 'the rock and the precipice', a sense of harmony was also shown between the architecture and nature, which it will be seen at times seem to merge together.

Several of the principles which Britton had demonstrated in the interior, he also applied to the gardens. An illustration of the entrance court and tower by Bartlett continues the principle of the importance of light and shade: shadows are cast on the wall, and the huge fir tree which dwarfs the tower casts a dark patch of shadow across the courtyard (figure 121). There is an interplay between architecture and nature in this illustration, as the foliage seems to threaten to swamp the potential dominance of the building; there is none of the symmetry seen in many illustrations in country house guides. Britton had written that originality should prevail and not be 'fettered here by classical precedent'.⁵⁵⁷ Other illustrations show neo-Gothic architecture fused with other architectural elements in an eclectic mix: the tower seen here had almost no precedent in English architecture, evocative more of a Tuscan villa. J.B. Papworth's book on types of rural residence, shows an illustration of a similar tower on a 'villa

⁵⁵³ J. Britton, *The History of Hope's Deepdene*, Vol. II.

⁵⁵⁴ T. Hope, 'Introduction' in B. Hofland, *A Descriptive Account of the Mansions and Gardens of White-Knights*, (London: printed for the author, 1819), pp. 11-13.

⁵⁵⁵ Britton, *Historical and Descriptive Notices of the Deepdene*.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁷ Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting*, p.5

designed as the residence of an artist' (figure 122).⁵⁵⁸ Papworth goes on to write, appropriately, that such a villa would ideally be 'in a situation of the most picturesque kind', and also that 'the ground would probably be elevated and boldly undulating'.⁵⁵⁹ To the right of the tower is an elaborate chimney stack, topped with pots designed to look like ancient vases. Originality and variety prevail, and perhaps a stimulus to the imagination as the viewer is mentally transported to the Italian countryside. A child plays with a dog, and a second figure emerges from an archway, thus adding a narrative to further stimulate the imagination.

Britton's principle of the use of small runs of stairs in interiors to create interest was equally emphasised in the illustrations of the gardens, where the changing levels of the ground necessitated the use of sloping paths or steps. This can be seen in an image of the steps leading to the 'theatre of the arts' by Bartlett and Williams (figure 123). The steps add an architectural element to the gardens, which is enhanced by the placement of ornamentation from vases and urns; these are elaborately decorated and would not look out of place in an interior. The exterior of the conservatory, another architectural element which Britton favoured, is clearly visible, and a colourfully dressed woman and a peacock both add colour and interest to the image. Britton explained the need for such variety in a fairly lengthy section in his unfinished manuscript. He wrote that although 'nature seldom exhibits extraordinary contrasts', this is not enough to satisfy the average mind, and that 'most persons from the profound critic to the most illiterate, are partial to variety, are constantly seeking for novelty and hunting for something new to amuse the mind'.⁵⁶⁰ Thus there are interesting contrasts in this illustration: a modern glass structure juxtaposed with the neo-Gothic architecture in the background; verdant trees evoking the English countryside juxtaposed with a spiky foreign plant in the centre and a peacock with oriental inspired vases potentially discordant in the English garden setting. The more general principles of originality and variety are being emphasised in this illustration. This might seem at odds with the other principle, of not allowing too great a contrast to be seen in a landscape; the existence of

⁵⁵⁸ J.B. Papworth, *Rural Residences, consisting of a Series of Designs for Cottages, Decorated Cottages, Small Villas, and other Ornamental Buildings Accompanied by Hints on Situation, Construction, Arrangement and Decoration, in the Theory & Practice of Rural Architecture; interspersed with Some Observations on Landscape Gardening*, (London: R. Ackermann, 1818), pp. 68-9.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p.70.

⁵⁶⁰ Britton, *The History of Hope's Deepdene, Vol. II*.

more finished text might have helped to elucidate this apparent contradiction. It would seem that the scenery did manage to provide the novelty that was required whilst at the same time creating a sense of harmony. To assist in this process serpentine paths helped to connect seemingly disparate elements, and these elements themselves are linked by general themes such as the category of ‘exotic’ or colour. Some of the elements are seen in different zones of the illustration and so form a link between separate areas; a key example is the green foliage which is both outside but also inside the conservatory.

The effect which Hope had aimed to create at the Deepdene, and which is emphasised in the illustrations, is therefore a potentially complex fusion of elements. The artists ‘led’ the viewer to perceive the landscape in a particular way, and this was enhanced by the use of framing devices within the illustration. This was a further architectural element which Hope had combined with the landscape, and one which Britton was keen to highlight. Britton had written in his summary of the picturesque at Soane’s house, that windows ‘may be said to render our walls transparent, and can enjoy the distant prospect from our fire-sides’.⁵⁶¹ This almost illusionary sense was created in reverse in the garden, where the presence of a framing device gives the impression of viewing through a window, when the individual at that location would in fact have been outside. This is one of the devices which were used to create an ambiguity between inside and outside, one example of the ‘co-operation of art and nature’ described in the quote at the head of this chapter. Architectural arches were constructed through which the scene beyond could be viewed by those enjoying the garden, and this effect was also depicted in the illustrations Britton commissioned, none more than in an image taken from a terrace on the roof (figure 124). Although the view of this scene would be outside on the roof, the frames give the impression of viewing them through windows: a bell tower can be seen through the first opening in the architecture to the left, a building with hilly scenery in the next, and abundant greenery through the remaining apertures. Whilst the illusion of windows is depicted, there is also a sense of viewing the scenes through picture frames: the picturesque is thus more than hinted at in this creation of pictures from the surroundings. There is an interesting similarity between this image, and one drawn by Thomas Hope on his extensive Grand

⁵⁶¹ Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting*, p. 17.

Tour which shows he was interested in the idea of structural frames for the landscape (figure 125).⁵⁶² Similar effects were created in the ‘View from the Long Conservatory’ (figure 126). Many of the elements discussed with reference to the previous illustrations are present: colour, framing, spiky plants and exterior ornamentation. In addition a sense of ambiguity is created, for the scene appears to be viewed from outside, but the viewer of the image might question if it is a view from just inside the conservatory.

Britton had expressed the importance of the vista in the creation of a picturesque interior; these were undoubtedly at least as important when considering the grounds of a property.⁵⁶³ He felt it the duty of the architect to ‘form beautiful vistas, and views that unexpectedly burst upon the spectator, so as to fascinate him with delight.’⁵⁶⁴ An illustration of ‘The Terrace before the Drawing Room’ shows a woman on the terrace and a man and boy in the gardens below, each enjoying a diverse aspect of the view that the viewer of the illustration is able to see as a whole (figure 127). The curved terrace is the sort of shape that Britton felt was ideal to add interest, and this semi-circular form again echoed the ‘amphitheatrical’ layout of the grounds.⁵⁶⁵ This resonance between architecture and landscape, seen already in the ‘theatre of the arts’, was one of the ways in which a unity was forged between architecture and nature. This theme is prevalent in the representations of Deepdene, both as a demonstration of Hope’s vision at the house, but also of Britton’s theory as an architectural writer and theorist of the picturesque.

It has thus been seen that many of the elements from John Britton’s hypothesis on the formation of the picturesque in interiors can be seen in the images he commissioned of the Deepdene of its interiors, but they can also be applied to the depictions of the gardens and park. There is an additional theme which has been emerging, however, which was not described by Britton in text; of the interaction between architecture and nature. It will be argued now that this was to be the central argument of Britton’s ideas on the picturesque on the country estate, using the Deepdene as his vehicle for this theory. It has been seen that some of the images commissioned by Britton show a blurring of the exterior and interior: light floods into

⁵⁶² Watkin, *Thomas Hope and the Neo-Classical Idea*, pp. 8-12.

⁵⁶³ Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting*, p. 13.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

rooms in the house, while architectural details in the gardens contribute to an ambiguity between the outside and the inside. These images fit in with Thomas Hope's conception of the picturesque at the Deepdene.

The interaction of nature and architecture

Thomas Hope's conception of the picturesque was not simply to have abundant foliage inside and outside: his aim was for a fusion of architecture with nature. William Gilpin's theory of the picturesque, later taken up by Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight, placed emphasis on the importance of ruggedness to add interest, and this is certainly a theme prevalent in the images of the Deepdene.⁵⁶⁶ David Watkin has situated Hope's theory of the picturesque in a context of a combination of architecture and nature which went back as far as the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁵⁶⁷ He goes on to describe Hope's vision of the picturesque as first about the landscaping of architecture, but developing to include 'the architecturalization of the landscape'.⁵⁶⁸ A combination of these aims certainly produced the abundant foliage interweaving between buildings that can be seen in several of the exterior images commissioned by Britton, in a fusion of architecture and nature. This idea is central to the text which Britton had begun to write about the Deepdene. He describes it thus: 'In places they present a wild and forest-like appearance fitted to the pencil of a Salvator, a Ruysdale (sic)'.⁵⁶⁹ The wild rocky outcrops of a painting by Salvator Rosa were indeed evocative of the Deepdene landscape, as can be seen in a painting now in the Wallace Collection in which a cliff on the right dominates a grouping of people below (figure 128). Jacob van Ruisdael's paintings often show buildings embedded in nature, or other structures such as, bridges. In Ruisdael's *A Landscape with Bridge, Cattle and Figures* an insubstantial bridge seems dominated by the nature and countryside around it; this painting formed part of the collection of Dutch masters inherited by Thomas Hope and his brother Henry (figure 129). He also evoked the picturesque with poetic language

⁵⁶⁶ See W. Gilpin, *Remarks on Forest Scenery*, (London, 1791) & R. Payne Knight, *The Landscape, A Didactic Poem* (1794) & U. Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque*, (1794) & Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, pp. 148-155 & Dixon Hunt & Willis, (eds) *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820*, (Cambridge Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 1988), pp. 318-367 [1975].

⁵⁶⁷ Watkin, *Thomas Hope and the Neo-Classical Idea*, pp. 125-157.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 137.

⁵⁶⁹ Britton, *The History of Hope's Deepdene*, p.40.

when he wrote of: 'its grounds are tossed about like troubled sea in a storm, into lofty eminences and deep hollows like the untraceable surface of the ocean, the inequalities of outline and aspect seem endlessly various and capricious'.⁵⁷⁰

Abundant foliage was a prime factor in the external images commissioned by Britton of the Deepdene. Two unfinished watercolours housed at the R.I.B.A. library show the house totally embedded within verdant growth: nature seems to have taken over from architecture in its dominance of the scene (figure 130 & figure 131). On consultation of the plans of the house and estate, it seems unlikely that foliage would have predominated to this extent, although it is known that Hope had a selection of service buildings constructed on a verdant incline.⁵⁷¹ In the image, plants seem to grow between parts of the building, and this almost certainly was not the case. A further illustration of the house from a short distance, shows a laundry maid struggling through thick undergrowth to spread out wet clothes to dry; here the house also seems embedded (figure 132). British artists had perceived buildings and landscapes in this integral way; the work of William Marlow showed architecture and dense foliage reminiscent of the view of the Deepdene in many ways, for example in *View of Naples*; both are Italianate structures within a dense landscape (figure 133). The illustrations of the Deepdene have taken the interaction of architecture a stage further, however, as the foliage seems even interspersed between different wings and sections of the house.

An illustration of the 'Entrance front' of the Deepdene from the R.I.B.A. collection shows a strong sense of the embeddedness of the house in nature; it appears, again, overwhelmed by the surrounding trees (figure 134). The viewpoint of the illustration is low, thus stressing the steep terrain around the house and making it seem more so. The reality was perhaps less dramatic as can be seen from the same 'Entrance Front' depicted by Bartlett (figure 135). The contrast is even more striking if the R.I.B.A. collection image is compared to one by Neale (figure 136). The land around the property is made to seem almost totally flat, and there is no emphasis on the dominance of surrounding foliage, apart from a large tree to the right in the image.

Another illustration by Bartlett, shows an example of the sort of vista from the Deepdene that Britton felt was central to his conception of the picturesque (figure 137).

⁵⁷⁰ Britton, *The History of Hope's Deepdene*.

⁵⁷¹ Watkin & Hewatt-Jaboor, *Thomas Hope*, p. 223.

The view is expansive, and from a height. It shows shadows from the trees, dark shadow in the foreground, and shafts of light emerging from the clouds which illuminate a way down the hill into the valley below; a couple appear to have followed this route. A shepherd with a flock of sheep adds interest on the left of the image, and the town of Dorking can be seen in the distance. An interesting glimpse into the potential fictionalization of some of these images can be seen when examining the location from which this view was taken. Alex Bagnall, Mole Valley Council Tree and Countryside Officer, is in charge of the ‘Hope Springs Eternal Project’ which aims to conserve and recreate some of the gardens of Thomas Hope.⁵⁷² His team have located the likely location of this image, based on maps, and the position of Hope Mausoleum which can just be seen in the distance to the middle of the image. The land as it exists now at this point is a firm ridge across, with no potential access down the slope for a casual walker (figure 138). It seems that in his illustration Bartlett added a gently sloping descent in order to enable the positioning of walkers in the image, and to create a more picturesque image in general. My photograph is distinctly less picturesque, even allowing for the growth of foliage, as it lacks a central focus or such variability of terrain; instead the scene consists of two bands of land, an upper and a lower. This steep and sudden descent would have been out of line with Hope’s own view of the ideal landscape, which he felt should involve gradual change and variation rather than the sudden and dramatic descents which were increasingly used to add interest and a sense of the sublime in images of landscape in the early nineteenth century.⁵⁷³ Again Hope favoured regular gentle slopes or terraces, and did not want the illustration to show an accurate depiction of ‘the rock and the precipice’ that was not part of his vision.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷² Leatherhead Advertiser, ‘The Hope Valley Project’, *Leatherhead Advertiser*, February 28, 2012, at: <http://www.thisissurreytoday.co.uk/Hope-Valley-project-open-estate-public/story-15342006-detail/story.html#axzz2c5QKnPwW>

⁵⁷³ See Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque* & P. Bicknell, *Beauty, Horror and Immensity: Picturesque Landscape in Britain, 1750-1850*, (Cambridge University Press, 1981).

⁵⁷⁴ T. Hope, *On Gardening*, (London, 1808).

'Re'-presenting the view: A comparison between John Britton's manuscripts on the Deepdene and J.P. Neale's *Account of the Deep-Dene*

The issue of artistic licence is demonstrated more clearly by comparing the images commissioned by John Britton with those in John Preston Neale's guide. There are three illustrations by Neale, the first of which the *East or Carriage Front*, which had already been referred to, and was seen to be comparable to the image by Bartlett which has the least foliage (figure 136 & figure 135). The second image is of the south front, and is from an almost identical view point to an illustration by Bartlett discussed earlier; these two images can be seen next to each other (figure 139 & figure 140). The most obvious differences in the image commissioned by Britton is the use of colour which gives a more picturesque sense, as well as the softer style given by the use of watercolour; these are features of all his images. In addition the closer viewing point adds emphasis to the building rather than the overall setting.

Another difference between the illustrations is the relative sizes of the different parts of the building: in Neale's image the conservatory appears to be much smaller in relation to the rest of the structure. This difference of emphasis fits in with Britton's theory of the picturesque depicted in many of his illustrations as involving an inversion or an overlapping between the inside and the outside: the increased size conservatory enables the presence of the plants within to be seen more clearly. An impression of the inside on the outside is also created by the inclusion of six large vases of the sort more commonly seen in an interior on the wall nearest the viewer; these vases do not appear in Neale's image. In fact the same vases seem to be in Williams' image of the *Theatre of the Arts* discussed earlier (figure 116).

A dramatic spiky plant seems to have been added to the left of the female figures on the path in the Bartlett image, a more exotic piece of foliage than the considerably smaller plant to the right of the similarly placed women in the Neale image. Although at first glance the same, subtle differences to the pair of women in each image create a different impact: they are dressed in much lighter clothing, carry a parasol and are accompanied by a playful dog in Bartlett's illustration. This gives an overall lighter appearance to the illustration. Bartlett has also made the addition of a mixed gender couple on the stairs to the left of the women, which widens the range of displayed

activities from casual stroll to include more apparently serious discourse. It is perhaps surprising that Bartlett has omitted the large flower bed in the foreground which Neale includes, but this enables the image to be more focussed on the building itself, and also allows the addition of a dramatic shadow.

The picturesque interest created by the shadow is complemented by the tree to the left of the image, which has a gnarled tangle of branches visible through the leaves. This is a feature not present in Neale's image, which shows a tree with a more even coverage of leaves, more life-like for the apparent time of year. The point is brought home by reference to an earlier, less worked up version by Bartlett of the same image, in which the tree is shown in full leaf: the change was clearly a conscious one (figure 141). In this earlier version, the building to the left of the conservatory is partly obscured by the tree, which the artist pares back for the final version of the image. In addition, although the viewpoint is as close as Bartlett's later version, the flower bed is present in place of the shadows, and the spiky plant and vases are both notably absent. These were therefore changes made at a later date by Bartlett, perhaps influenced by Britton to fit in more clearly with his vision and theory, as well as with that of Hope himself, the gnarled branches adding a more suitably picturesque interest. It is impossible to say for sure whether or not the flower bed was present in reality, but the variations show the emphasis that each artist wished to convey.

A final element which differs in all three of the illustrations is the apparent degree to which the ground slopes. Neale makes the incline of the path seen very gentle, almost no-existent, and the ground to the right of the path is on the same level as the walkers. In Bartlett's less finished image the ground slopes more and there is a sharp incline to the right of the picture at the top of the path. Both the slope of the path and the incline to the right of it are considerably steeper in Bartlett's final image of the scene, indicating that this was another conscious change made to the final illustration. The steepness of the ground is an element which is emphasised in most of the exterior illustrations commissioned by Britton: it adds the interest and variety that he keenly promoted as a feature of the grounds at the Deepdene, and shows that such undulations were a key factor in his conception of the picturesque as supported by his text.

The idea of the artist's power to emphasise and even change details of a scene seems to be suggested by Britton in his preface to the planned work when he writes of the need for 'vivid fancy and fruitful mind' when viewing nature, and continues: 'a Scott and a Southey have also exemplified the powers of the pen in giving interest to subjects apparently dull and by the energetic powers of wit and wisdom have rendered them truly affecting'.⁵⁷⁵ Britton's text for this section of the unfinished manuscript ends with these words, but he asserts the powers of the topographer and writer to create interest from an otherwise 'dull' view: he might well have felt that these powers, even duties, extended to the artist also.

The third and final illustration in Neale's guide to the Deepdene is of the Northwest front (figure 142). This view is not depicted at all in the Britton images, and shows the property at its most symmetrical: this would certainly not have fitted in with Britton's and Hope's theory of interest being added by asymmetry, but is a more conventional depiction of the country house. It is the sort of view which is typical of Neale's depictions of other properties, and which is seen in guides of the period in general. The lawns are shown to slope gently up to the house, and this is in contrast to the suggestion shown by Bartlett in a side view of the same terrace which indicates a much steeper incline (figure 127). This side view shows the sort of variety and interest that Britton was keen to promote, and in addition puts the building in the context of the views which could be seen from the house and grounds.

A comparison with depictions of the Deepdene in county guides

The Deepdene was not depicted in any illustrations in county guides before Neale's guide to the property was published. As a property not owned by a member of the aristocracy, it did not merit inclusion for reasons of family prestige or lineage. A guide to Suffolk, Surrey and Sussex published in 1813 did mention the Deepdene, although it was not considered worthy of an illustration, unlike the grander properties of Temple Grove, Addlington Place, Betchworth Castle, Arundel Castle, Battle Abbey and

⁵⁷⁵ Britton, *The History of Hope's Deepdene*.

even the scenic Grove Hill.⁵⁷⁶ Another slightly later and more local guide, *A Picturesque Promenade Around Dorking*, also mentioned the Deepdene but did not include any illustrations.⁵⁷⁷ It was not until Neale published illustrations of the Deepdene in his *Views of Seats* and in the guidebook, that the house would be depicted in print.

It would be later, perhaps stimulated by Neale's account, that the Deepdene would be pictured in county guides. George Frederick Prosser's *Surrey Seats* included a view of the more symmetrical northwest front as well as the carriage front; there was no reference to the co-existence with nature nor were there any illustrations of the interior which had been a key element in Britton's manuscript (figure 143). A similar account appeared in a slightly later publication: *History of Surrey*, with the symmetrical Northwest front again prioritised as the only illustration, albeit from a slightly diagonal angle.⁵⁷⁸

End of an era: a later description of the Deepdene

John Britton had not in fact finished writing about the Deepdene by the death of his patron Thomas Hope: just under two decades later he would be called upon to provide the text about Deepdene for a county guide for Surrey written with his long-time collaborator and colleague John Brayley.⁵⁷⁹ The vision that Thomas Hope had cherished for the Deepdene, and which Britton had begun to describe, had long since expired, however. If a moment in the history of the Deepdene was captured in these images and text, then it was a moment that lasted for a brief time. Not only had English taste moved on from being able to accept an asymmetric semi-Tuscan villa in the heart of the Surrey countryside, the idea of the picturesque was also expiring in this form. The moment in time ended with the inheritance of Thomas Hope's son Henry, who immediately set about erasing the asymmetry and idiosyncratic style of the property, creating for himself a more traditional country house in the Italianate style.

⁵⁷⁶ F. Shoberl, *Beauties of England and Wales: Suffolk, Surrey and Sussex*, Vol. XIV, (London: J. Harris, 1813), p. 160.

⁵⁷⁷ J. Timbs, *A Picturesque Promenade Around Dorking*, (London: Shackell, 1822), pp. 222-4.

⁵⁷⁸ T. Allen, *History of Surrey*, Vol. II, (London: J. Allen, 1829-1830), pp. 198-9.

⁵⁷⁹ E.W. Brayley et al., *A Topographical History of Surrey*, pp. 79-89.

It was this much modified house which was described by Britton in the county guide: there is no reference to the combination of nature and architecture which he had been so keen to depict two decades earlier. The only reference to the picturesque nature of the setting is where he wrote in a much more muted style: ‘In the Exterior of the House there is much of a picturesque description; partly arising from the irregularity of its ground-plot, and partly from the style of architecture and decorations’.⁵⁸⁰ Even in his biography of Thomas Hope, he refers only unspecifically to Hope’s ambitions and ideals at the Deepdene when he writes of his ‘own ideas of architectural embellishment and of the ‘miscellaneous objects of vertu of which that villa had become the repository’.⁵⁸¹ It had certainly become a very different property by now, as the two illustrations testify: one of the hall surrounded by sculptures and another of Henry Hope’s newly built Southeast front (figure 144 & figure 145). In the latter image the building can be seen to have changed to emphasise symmetry rather than asymmetry, and nature has been relegated to second place, with none of the embeddedness seen in the images commissioned by Britton in the 1820s. The interior rooms are described in turn, with an emphasis on the collections; both the boudoir and the library seem to correspond to the illustrations by Britton seen earlier. Both this interior account and the exterior descriptions and illustration fit in with the more objective nature of county guides in general which contrasts with Britton’s aim of conveying a theory in his earlier manuscript; the lack of picturesque theory is nonetheless notable.

Conclusion

The unfinished book about the Deepdene by John Britton is another example of a guide which was not intended for a tourist market, but which was intended as a portrait of a house and gardens and as an exemplar of a particular development of picturesque theory. The book was commissioned by the property owner, Thomas Hope, possibly as a gift for his wife for whom the dedication was made. The comparison with author John Britton’s book about John Soane’s house, intended as a companion volume, highlighted the application and emphasis of similar principles of picturesque theory as well as some additional ones. The use of mirrors, light, ornamentation, stairs and variety of styles

⁵⁸⁰ Brayley et al., *A Topographical History of Surrey*, p. 84.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 83.

was shown in the interior images, whilst all but the first of these could also be seen in the exterior images. In the latter, Britton emphasised further aspects which it was argued would have formed the basis of his description of his theory of the picturesque on a country estate: vistas, framing devices, contrast and interaction of architecture and nature. In interior and exterior images the interplay and ambiguity between inside and outside was explored and played with. In general the Deepdene was represented as a property engulfed by nature, with a sense of nature and architecture interweaving almost seamlessly together. This impression, as well as the other principles already listed, were exaggerated and manipulated in the images: this could be seen firstly by comparing an image with a current photograph of the same view, but more compellingly by comparing three images of the same scene, including two versions by the same artist, and noticing the many variations between these. A later illustrated description of the Deepdene by the same author, John Britton, did not highlight any of the principles which two decades earlier he had been so keen to promote: the Deepdene had moved on radically under a new owner to a new stage of its evolution, and so, perhaps, had the earlier interest in the picturesque in this form.

Chapter 5

‘This Terrestrial Paradise Designed’⁵⁸²: the country house description as a statement of individual identity

It was a chosen plot of fertile land
 Amongst wild hills sett, like a little nest,
 As if it had by nature’s cunning hand
 Bene choicely picked out from all the rest
 And laid forth for example of the best.
 No dainty flower or herbe that growes on ground
 Nor aborrett with painted blossomes drest
 And smelling sweete, but there it might be fond
 To bud out faire, and her sweete smells throwe all around.⁵⁸³

Introduction

John Coakley Lettsom used the quote above to compare the gardens at his property at Grove Hill to the idyllic landscape described in Edmund Spencer’s *Faerie Queen*. He was proud of the ‘terrestrial paradise’ that he had created, and was keen to promote it in published works. The books about it will be seen to provide not only a description of his house and grounds, but an insight into the owner’s identity, with all its complex and potentially contradictory facets. It will be seen that the guidebook was used not only as a forum for the negotiation of status, but as a stage for the enactment of a very individual identity of the owner and a manifesto of his ideas.

The case studies so far in this thesis have looked at aspects of owner-identity and agenda in descriptions of their houses, which can now be seen not only as a record of architecture and interiors, but as a biography of the house and owner. This chapter will continue with the same theme of focus on the potential agendas embedded in the writing of a guidebook to a country seat. The subject represented is at a very different end of the social hierarchy, however, unlike the aristocratic owners of Woburn Abbey or Cotehele, or even the extremely affluent owner of the Deepdene. The focus will be

⁵⁸² T. Maurice, *Grove Hill, A Descriptive Poem, with an Ode to Mithra*, (London, 1799), p.36

⁵⁸³ From Spencer’s *Faerie Queen*, quoted in J.C. Lettsom, *Grove-Hill: A Rural and Horticultural Sketch*, (London: Printed by Stephen Couchman, 1804), p. 7.

physician John Coakley Lettsom and his country house in Camberwell, which is now a busy part of South East London, but was then a rural village (Figure 146).

The subject of enquiry in this chapter has relevance for theories of eighteenth-century identity and modernity. Miles Ogborn discussed the multiplicity of modernities in the eighteenth century, and explores these through a variety of different spaces in London of the period.⁵⁸⁴ He sees the geography of London as providing sites for the negotiation of the potential multiple identities at this time, and for an integration of these across and between different spaces. He acknowledged that his account, however, does not give an example of a residential space nor address the issue of the family.⁵⁸⁵ The published guides to Grove Hill are situated very much in the domestic realm, and thus fill this gap. Lettsom had worked to fund his own medical training, and his subsequent success as one of London's top physicians gave him some of the trappings of a gentleman whilst he lacked the background of one. There were other potential contradictions in his life which it will be seen were mediated through the guides to his property. These included his dual status as both family man and hard-working physician, as a Quaker and social climber, as a philanthropist and man of property and finally as a self-made man and academic.

Grove Hill and John Coakley Lettsom

John Coakley Lettsom built Grove Hill in Camberwell from 1779, at the age of 35, as a country retreat away from the polluted air of London. This was part of the rise in building by the middle classes in a belt around London which became the suburbs; a trend in this period which has been mapped in a recent publication.⁵⁸⁶ Grove Hill has since been demolished, and all that remains of his eighteenth-century vision is a cottage from the pleasure gardens and three sculptural reliefs from the north frontage which were transferred to the front of a property nearby.⁵⁸⁷ There is an entry for Lettsom in

⁵⁸⁴ M. Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies 1680-1780*, (New York: The Guilford press, 1998).

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 36.

⁵⁸⁶ E. McKellar, *Landscapes of London: the City, the Country and the Suburbs 1660-1840*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013).

⁵⁸⁷ *Three Reliefs with Allegorical Figures, 86 Camberwell Road*, listed at: National Recording Project, Public Monuments and Sculpture Association, at <http://www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-database/1093/> [accessed 13 January 2013].

the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, which notes the basic facts of his life.⁵⁸⁸ He is described as a physician and philanthropist, born in the West Indies to Quaker parents of Cheshire origin. He was sent to school in England at the age of six to be raised and educated without the nurturance of his parents. On leaving school he was apprenticed to a Yorkshire apothecary and surgeon for several years; on the death of his father he returned to the Virgin Islands, liberated his father's many slaves, and, thus penniless, managed to earn £2,000 by setting up in private medical practice on the Islands. His industry allowed him to return to Great Britain, where he went on to study medicine at Edinburgh University, finally graduating at a doctor of medicine from the University of Leiden. He became a celebrated physician in London, known for his long working hours, and was able to build his country retreat in Camberwell in 1779. He is further noted as an extremely prolific author, with several books and pamphlets to his name. In addition to these, he published many articles, especially in *The Gentleman's Magazine*; the latter are even more numerous when it is understood that he also used the pseudonyms of 'JC Mottles' and *Medicus Londiniensis*.⁵⁸⁹ His long list of publications is supporting evidence that the first guide published in 1794, titled *Grove-Hill an Horticultural Sketch*, was written by Lettsom himself.⁵⁹⁰ A second guide was written in verse by Thomas Maurice, and was published in 1799.⁵⁹¹

The Grove Hill descriptions in the context of the existing guidebook genre

Both of the guides to Grove Hill are early examples of the types of country house descriptions they represent, and in this sense they were modern as objects in their own right. 24 guidebooks to 15 separate properties were published before Lettsom wrote *Grove-Hill an Horticultural Sketch*. Guides to Wilton House, Knowsley, Houghton, Hagley, Appuldurcombe and Cowdray focused on the contents of the house such as the sculpture and paintings. Guides to Holkham and Houghton consisted of plans and elevations, a product of the building works, and the several guides to Stowe concerned the gardens only. The published description of Cokethorpe Park was in the form of a

⁵⁸⁸ J.F. Payne & R. Porter, 'Lettsom, John Coakley (1744–1815)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16527?docPos=1> [accessed 4.12.12].

⁵⁸⁹ 'Letter from JC Lettsom', in T.J. Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late John Coakley Lettsom*, Volume 3, 3 vols, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1817), p. 76.

⁵⁹⁰ T.C. Lettsom, *Grove-Hill: An Horticultural Sketch*, (London: 1794).

⁵⁹¹ Maurice, *Grove Hill*.

poem which centred on the exterior and gardens, the guide to Merly focused on the library, whilst the remaining books focused on genealogy of the family and history of the family and property. Horace Walpole's well-known guide to his fantasy creation at Strawberry Hill, published in 1774 was the first guidebook which conformed the most to the modern age idea of a guidebook, for he described the contents of the rooms in turn, with illustrations of the exterior and interior.

There was therefore a context for the production of two guides to Grove Hill. The description of the library in Lettsom's first guide may have been inspired by a guide to the library at Merly House published 9 years earlier: Lettsom had read this owner-authored book, and its specific influence will be examined later. Maurice's guide to Grove Hill was written in rhyming verse, which is the same form of language used in the guide to Cokethorpe Park in 1769. The description and illustration of the grounds in both guides is in keeping with several of the guides that came before; a key difference is the emphasis. The guides to Grove Hill were innovative and at the forefront of country guide development in several ways. Grove Hill lacked the grandeur of the other properties such as Wilton House or Houghton, it was not as idiosyncratic as Strawberry Hill nor was it the country seat of a member of the aristocracy. It was unheard of for a guidebook to be written about a relatively small, 'plain structure',⁵⁹² owned by a doctor. The contents of each guide were also unusual in that they each gave details of the gardens and interior of the library and museum, but did not list any of the contents or collection, nor did they describe the history of the house or the family. Both of the guides to Grove Hill focused on the utility of the landscape more than its picturesque qualities.

The guides to Grove Hill: authorship and use

Grove-Hill: an Horticultural Sketch was published anonymously in 1794, after both the building of Lettsom's new house and his development of the gardens was complete. The timing of the volume was therefore consistent with a potential motive of marking the end of the main development of the estate; it was also at a stage when his career was

⁵⁹² Lettsom, *Grove-Hill*, 1794, p. 10.

at its peak.⁵⁹³ As the title suggests, a description of the gardens and their productivity was a key component of the content of the book, which also included descriptions and illustrations of the house. The authorship of the book has some relevance to the topic of identity, for if it is in Lettsom's own words, as argued here, it would correspond most closely to the message about himself and his property that he wished to convey. By this date, Lettsom had many publications to his name, including pamphlets on the harm caused by tea-drinking, on temperance and on soup recipes for the poor.⁵⁹⁴ He was keen to impart advice on any subject relating to medicine, health and his passion of horticulture, and the content of this guide follows that mission. The 'voice' in the book is very much his own, and the text expresses views on philanthropy and garden innovation.

A review of *Grove Hill* appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, but it does not acknowledge the author of the work.⁵⁹⁵ J.J. Abraham, Lettsom's biographer writing in 1933 did not make direct reference to *Grove-Hill an Horticultural Sketch*, but the guide is listed in the British Library and the Quaker Library as possibly by Lettsom.⁵⁹⁶ Two years after Lettsom's death in 1815, his associate and friend Thomas Pettigrew wrote a memorial account of Lettsom's life, and he notes that:

‘An Horticultural Sketch – of the plants & c. growing in this garden was drawn up by the ingenious and worthy proprietor himself. This work, which was printed in a very elegant style, contains a ground plan of the house, gardens, and grounds at Grove-Hill’.⁵⁹⁷

Pettigrew is likely to be a reliable source on this subject as he was close to Lettsom: he was a fellow medical practitioner to whom Lettsom wrote a few days before his death saying he felt unwell, and the two men were in close contact during his last days.⁵⁹⁸

Further evidence that the book was written by Lettsom, comes from his own pen, and certain of his letters also give an interesting insight into the motivations of the publication and its subsequent use. In a letter of December 5th, 1790 to a ‘Sir M.

⁵⁹³ J.J. Abraham, *Lettsom: His Life Times and Descendants*, (London: William Heineman Medical Books Ltd, 1933).

⁵⁹⁴ Payne & Porte, ‘Lettsom, John Coakley’.

⁵⁹⁵ S. Urban (pen name of E. Cave), ‘Review of *Grove-Hill An Horticultural Sketch*’, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1795 part II, pp. 671-72.

⁵⁹⁶ Abraham, *Lettsom*

⁵⁹⁷ T.G. Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late John Coakley Lettsom*, Volume 1, 3 vols, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1817), p. 41.

⁵⁹⁸ Abraham, *Lettsom*, pp. 433-434.

Martin', he writes that he intends 'to pursue another work, to be entitled "Meditations and Reflections upon Grove-Hill;"....on various subjects in agriculture', an intention which he repeats in a letter to the same recipient a month later.⁵⁹⁹ In 1804 a Rev. J. Plumtre writes to thank Lettsom for his present of 'Grove-Hill', which he refers to as 'your book', and states he is inspired by the endeavour of creating such a garden.⁶⁰⁰ Lettsom and his correspondents often sent each other gifts of their own publications, and this highlights a key use of such books. Lettsom's guide to his house and garden was not written as a guide for tourists, but as one of many publications he wrote which would convey his thoughts and methods to friends and associates. The guide to Grove Hill complemented his many writings on medical and horticultural subjects as it provided a working example. Abraham, although not mentioning *Grove Hill* in his text, quoted a letter from Lettsom in 1794: 'I have taken the liberty to request the Marquis of Lansdowne would accept '*Grove Hill, an Horticultural Sketch*', of which 50 copies are printed'.⁶⁰¹ In another letter by Lettsom, dated 3rd September 1795, he writes: 'I inclose, to the care of Johnson, "Grove Hill an Horticultural Sketch" with other minor pieces, for thy acceptance' (sic).⁶⁰²

As Lettsom's existing letters give evidence that he sent three copies of his book to associates, it is likely that he sent many more as gifts to his many correspondents, which numbered two hundred by his own estimation, or to visitors to the property. The copy of his book lodged at the Quaker Library is dated 1804, which suggests a second print run, and that he gave out at least fifty copies of the work. This use of such publications, also seen earlier in the thesis, renders the term 'guidebook' an inaccurate term: they could more accurately be called 'descriptions', a term often in the title of such books.

One likely reason for the anonymous publication of *Grove Hill* was simple Quaker humility; Quakers in this period observed moderation, and it might have seemed like a boastful statement to publish the book under his overt authorship. The Quaker ethos of the time demanded that an individual did not unduly promote himself: this principle can be seen in the plain and understated inscriptions on headstones, or the

⁵⁹⁹ Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late John Coakley Lettsom*, volume 2, letter LXXX.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ Abraham, *Lettsom*, p. 272.

⁶⁰² 'Letter from JC Lettsom to Dr Walker, Sept. 3, 1795', Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late John Coakley Lettsom*, Volume 3, p.76.

absence of a headstone altogether.⁶⁰³ In creating a statement about his property as personal as *Grove Hill*, Lettsom clearly thought it a step too far to include his name on the title page. In one of his letters he mentions a poem written about Grove Hill, and expresses the preference for not being referred to directly too often in such works: 'It would please me, as one of the most elegant pieces of poetry I ever read, if it did not contain too many stories about me'.⁶⁰⁴ He continued to explain that in many letters to *The Gentleman's Magazine* he signs himself anonymously as *Medicus Londinensis* or as 'A member of the Faculty'. This humility extends to the descriptions of the architecture of the house, which is 'a plain structure'.⁶⁰⁵ It also extends to the frontispiece, which is a simple statement of the title and date, with no illustration or embellishment. Although he did add his name to his medical publications, there was a reason for this: his developing reputation as a successful doctor, as well as the weight his name gave to medical advice. A book about his own property would risk straying too far away from Quaker humility and would risk venture into the realm of boastfulness. As an anonymous publication, Lettsom could control who knew its true authorship.

Lettsom's book acknowledged the use of two engravers. Thomas Medland is credited for *South View*; he is known to have been an engraver and draughtsman in business in Westminster chiefly known for his topographical work.⁶⁰⁶ He is also cited as the engraver in other guides in this research sample, for example Barbara Hofland's book on the property 'White-Knights'.⁶⁰⁷ The other engravers cited are the firm of Darton and Harvey, who engraved the *North View of Grove Hill*. They were a natural choice for Lettsom, for both Joseph Darton and Joseph Harvey, who set up in business together as publishers and engravers in 1791, were Quakers with an interest in commissions from other Quakers.⁶⁰⁸ Thomas Maurice made a much more unlikely

⁶⁰³ The headstone of Lettsom's mentor Dr. John Fothergill had only his name, age and date of death inscribed, see: Abraham, *Lettsom*, p. 208.

⁶⁰⁴ 'Letter from JC Lettsom to Dr Walker, Sept. 3, 1795', Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late John Coakley Lettsom*, Volume 3, p.76.

⁶⁰⁵ Lettsom, *Grove-Hill*, 1794, p. 10.

⁶⁰⁶ E. Tollfree, 'Thomas Medland (c. 1765-1833)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18498> accessed 31.03.14].

⁶⁰⁷ B. Hofland, *A Descriptive Account of the Mansion and Gardens of White Knights, with twenty-three engravings from pictures by T C Hofland*, (London: printed for His Grace the Duke of Marlborough by W. Wilson, 1819).

⁶⁰⁸ G. Avery, 'William Darton (1755-1819)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/63575?docPos=3> [accessed 04.04.14] & 'Darton and Harvey', in *Darton and Harvey Archive*, University of Reading, MS 2774.

choice of engraver for his book on Grove Hill, the wood-engraver John Anderson; it was in fact the publishers who employed him.⁶⁰⁹ Anderson had been an apprentice of wood-engraver Thomas Bewick, but the partners of the firm attempted to sue him for ‘neglecting his work, insolence, provocation, willfully bad work and absenting himself from their service’.⁶¹⁰ He was taken on by the printer Thomas Bensley, the publishers of Maurice’s *Grove-Hill*, and Anderson thus gained the commission for the 16 engravings in what would be his first attributed work.

The artist for the engraving in both the guides to Grove Hill was George Samuel, an artist in watercolour and oils who was noted for his topographical and rural views around London and in the countryside.⁶¹¹ He has been particularly referred to as an artist who was inspired by the picturesque as well as for his depiction of ‘fashionable and rural figures’, and this perhaps influenced Lettsom’s choice of him as the artist for his work.⁶¹²

The second published description of Grove Hill was written by Rev. Thomas Maurice, a scholar of Indian antiquities, who became assistant keeper of manuscripts in the British Library in 1799.⁶¹³ This appointment was in the same year that his illustrated description of Grove Hill, written mainly in verse, was published. It was published with another poem by Maurice, *An Ode to Mithra*; about a Hindu deity, it reflects his Indian scholarship. Although not written by Lettsom, it is thought that he commissioned the poem from Maurice.⁶¹⁴ Indeed Maurice was a friend of Lettsom, and is known to have been a member at one time of the social group that Lettsom founded, the *Athletae*, so named because of the ‘gymnastic’ activities that members would engage with on weekly or fortnightly dinners at each other’s houses.⁶¹⁵ Due to the close association between the two men, it is likely that Lettsom held some sway over the content, and indeed although very different, both guides highlight the same core values

⁶⁰⁹ I. Bain, ‘John Anderson (1775-1808)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69665/482?docPos=5> [accessed 31.03.14].

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹¹ F. M. O’Donoghue, & Rev. Rosie Dias, ‘Samuel, George, d. c. 1823’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24604?docPos=1> [accessed 04.04.14].

⁶¹² *Ibid.*

⁶¹³ N. Leask, ‘Maurice, Thomas (1754–1824)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, at: www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18387?docPos=2 [accessed 15.01.13] & Maurice, *Grove Hill*.

⁶¹⁴ P. Hunting, ‘Dr. John Coakley Lettsom, Plant-Collector of Camberwell’, *Garden History*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Winter 2006), p. 234.

⁶¹⁵ Abraham, *Lettsom*, p. 416.

of philanthropy, utility on the landscape and scientific learning. Both of the guidebooks contained illustrations, mainly of the exterior and gardens.

Illustrations: South View of Grove Hill

The illustrations of Lettsom's house in his self-authored *Grove Hill* begin with a plan of the grounds, which shows Lettsom's house within the 10 acres of grounds which he had extended his land to by the date of publication (figure 147). The first illustration of the house is a south view, which reveals it to indeed be 'a plain structure' as he describes (figure 148).⁶¹⁶ This underlies the fact that it was unprecedented that such an 'ordinary' house, lacking the grandeur of the great power houses of the day, should inspire a guide of its own. It suggests that Lettsom was associating himself and his humbler property with the great houses of the aristocracy their owners by employing the genre of the guidebook.

A further noticeable element of the illustration is that of the thirteen windows on this rear view of the property, five of them are open. As if to highlight that this is for the benefit of the residents inside, a woman can be seen sitting at one of the upstairs bay windows. The earliest known written account of Grove Hill was in *The European Magazine and Literary Review* of May 1788, in which the choice of location for Lettsom's house was motivated by the potential for fresh air:

The oldest Physicians have remarked, that for three quarters of the year, the wind blows from the south towards London; and consequently, for that period, the air is as pure as if the situation were at the greatest distance from the city; and the months when the north winds prevail, is in the winter season, when the severity of the weather draws the company from their retreats to the town.⁶¹⁷

Exploration of Lettsom's published writing and published as well as unpublished letters shows him to be a keen advocate of the benefits of fresh air, and he gave medical prescriptions of exposure to fresh air.⁶¹⁸ Although the health benefits of fresh air were already acknowledged at the time, it would be another few decades before fresh air was recommended for tubercular patients, and the first centre for the cure of tuberculosis by

⁶¹⁶ Lettsom, *Grove-Hill*, 1794, pp. 2-3.

⁶¹⁷ 'Some Account of Grove-Hill near Camberwell, with and engraving of the back of Dr. Lettsom's house to the garden', *The European Magazine and Literary Review*, (May 1788), pp. 321-323.

⁶¹⁸ Abraham, *Lettsom*, pp.276-77.

rest was founded by Hermann Brehmer in Göbersdorf, where the benefits of the mountain air were considered to be advantageous.⁶¹⁹ In London, Dollis Hill House was opened in 1917; it was a 'model' hospital which was an open air institution for wounded soldiers.⁶²⁰ Lettsom himself founded the Sea-Bathing Infirmary at Margate in 1792.⁶²¹ The laying of the Foundation stone by Lettsom, which was inscribed with his sole name, is described in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.⁶²² This was primarily for the poor suffering from 'scrofula' (a tubercular inflammation of the lymph nodes) to enable them to bathe in the sea; it also made provision for outdoor sleeping for these afflicted patients.⁶²³ Lettsom's medical notes show that he prescribed fresh air for a variety of ailments, but especially for 'putrid fever'.⁶²⁴ The advice seemed counter-intuitive to the recipients, some of who refused to follow his instructions. The relatives of one poor afflicted female patient, Jane Merebank, followed the orders too strictly, and she was placed in a strong current of air 'in a shift and petticoat with her breasts exposed'; this resulted in total rigidity and stiffness in all her joints, such that even Lettsom had to admit there was a limit.⁶²⁵ The open windows in the illustration therefore reference a key, idiosyncratic, aspect of Lettsom's medical practice, and show him to be innovative in his treatments. The open windows show him to be at the cutting edge of medicine, and represent his keen interest in scientific innovation: in this sense Lettsom is very much a modern man.

Another element of the south view of Grove Hill links to Lettsom's medical occupation and standing: the cultivation of the gardens. His deep interest in horticulture was less for decorative than scientific purposes, and he was a keen importer of seeds from America; it was a hobby common amongst Quakers of the age, who saw nature as representing the wonder of God's creation.⁶²⁶ The unusual species that Lettsom

⁶¹⁹ J. Sauret-Valet, *History of Tuberculosis Treatment, Departamento de Neumología, Hospital de la Santa Creu i Sant Pau, Barcelona*, at website: Agency of Public Health Barcelona, <http://www.aspb.es/uitb/DOCS2/HISTORY%20OF%20TUBERCULOSIS%20TREATMENT%20pdf.pdf> [accessed 17.02.13]

⁶²⁰ 'A Model Open Air Hospital, 1917', *British Pathé website* at: <http://www.britishpathe.com/video/a-model-open-air-hospital/query/wheelchairs>

⁶²¹ Abraham, *Lettsom*, p. 282.

⁶²² 'Diary of daily events, 21st June, 1792', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1792 part I, pp. 571-2.

⁶²³ Abraham, *Lettsom*, p. 286.

⁶²⁴ JC Lettsom, *Medical Memoirs of the General Dispensary in London for part of the Years 1773 and 1774*, (London: Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly, 1774).

⁶²⁵ JC Lettsom, 'Case XXXI: Jane Merebank', *Medical Memoirs*, p. 15

⁶²⁶ A. Nichols, *The Golden Age of Quaker Botanists*, (Kendal: The Quaker Tapestry at Kendal, 2006).

cultivated can be seen in the variegated leaves of the trees in the foreground, and the garden worker to the right of the image is busy next to a row of plants in pots. The most obvious evidence of Lettsom's interest in botanical science is the greenhouse, unusually attached to the house with direct access from the dining room by a glass door, as he describes in a letter to his friend Dr. Cuming.⁶²⁷ He cultivated plants with a medicinal purpose such as goat's beard or salsify and rhubarb.⁶²⁸ He also took an active interest in the welfare of the poor, and was keen to experiment with vegetables which were economical for their consumption, such as the mangel-wurzel, publishing *An Account of the Culture and Use of the Mangel Wurzel, or Root of Scarcity*, in 1787. He swapped seeds with some of his many correspondents, importing many American varieties of trees and shrubs.

The proximity of the greenhouse to the main house demonstrates the importance of his botanical obsession, and a contemporary portrait of the family not published in the guidebooks shows them arranged next to the greenhouse (figure 149). In this painting his eldest son is holding a plant, which looks similar to the tea plant which Lettsom illustrated in his book on plants; he was a prolific writer on the medicinal properties and risks of tea-drinking.⁶²⁹ The portrait is in the Wellcome Trust Collection, and is listed as 'by an English artist', although they also reference Johnston Abraham's assertion in his biography of Lettsom, that there was a portrait of him by Johann Zoffany.⁶³⁰ Indeed *The Atheneum Magazine* noted the sale by auction of such a portrait by Zoffany from the collection of John Lettsom Elliot, Lettsom's successor, in 1917.⁶³¹ In addition, a list of the complete works of Zoffany includes reference to a painting of John Coakley Lettsom and family.⁶³² It is a statement in itself that Zoffany painted a portrait of the Lettsom family; as a celebrated portrait painter of the day he

⁶²⁷ 'Letter XXXVI from JC Lettsom to Dr Cuming, March 2 1785, in Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late John Coakley Lettsom*, vol. 1, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown), 1817.

⁶²⁸ P. Hunting, 'Dr John Coakley Lettsom, Plant-Collector of Camberwell', *Garden History*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Winter, 2006), pp. 221-235.

⁶²⁹ J.C. Lettsom, *The natural history of the tea tree with observations on its medical qualities, and effects of tea-drinking* (London, 1772).

⁶³⁰ *John Coakley Lettsom (1733-1810), physician, with his family*, image no. V0017955 at the Wellcome Trust website: <http://images.wellcome.ac.uk/> & J.J. Abraham, *Lettsom: His Life, Times and Descendents*, (London: William Heineman Medical Books Ltd, 1933), p. 307 & p. 449.

⁶³¹ 'Sale of a Portion of the Library of John Lettsom Elliot', *Atheneum Magazine*, 1917.

⁶³² V. Manners & G.G. Williamson, *Johann Zoffany R.A.: His Life and Works, 1735-1810*, (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1920), p. 238.

could command in the region of twenty guineas per figure for a group portrait.⁶³³

Lettsom was making a grand statement with this commission. In many ways the portrait composition is indeed consistent with a Zoffany portrait; typical of his style it involves dynamic connection between the figures, reference to dynastic heritage and individual objects evocative of the sitters' identity.⁶³⁴ In other ways the portrait does not seem consistent with Zoffany. The intricate detail and opulent texture of fabric is not the same as in other portraits such as in *The Drummond Family*, although this could be a factor of the Lettsom family's Quaker ideal of simple dress (figure 150). Comparison of the dog in each portrait, however, does show that the Lettsom portrait is less meticulously detailed; the dog in *The Drummond Family* is a portrait in itself. This difference in style could be a result of the Lettsom portrait being a copy *after* the Zoffany. It is likely that as the only known portrait of the Lettsom family, the portrait owned by the Wellcome Trust is at least a copy of a portrait by Zoffany.

The south view of Lettsom's house displays more than his medical interests and Quaker affiliations; it is possible the Lettsom family appear in the book illustration itself. Lettsom's life as represented by the house demonstrates something of a tension between Quaker proprieties and the life of a prosperous gentleman. Both of these elements can be seen juxtaposed in the elegant but modest grouping of figures on the lawn which appears to be his family, including children who are pushing each other around in a perambulator. It is notable that an earlier version of this same illustration was published in the *European Magazine*; it was almost identical except for the addition of the grouping on the lawn for the illustration in Lettsom's book; this underlies the significance of the figures (figure 151).⁶³⁵ The adult couple in the image are likely to be Lettsom and his wife, and the second adult woman might be a relative of his wife Ann Miers, or a visitor, if the latter then this shows the social use that Lettsom made of his property. Saturdays were open for applicants who wished to visit the gardens, and he would allow them to take away cuttings. On Sundays he usually dined at Grove Hill and invited guests for dinner.

⁶³³ M. Webster, *Johan Zoffany*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 612, [2011].

⁶³⁴ M. Postle, (ed), *Johan Zoffany RA: Society Observed*, (New Haven And London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 101-123.

⁶³⁵ T. Prattend, 'Garden View of Dr Lettsom's House', *European Magazine*, 1817.

There are at least two occasions when Lettsom's mode of entertainment far exceeded the Quaker ideal of restraint, and very large parties of 500 and 800 are recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1801 and 1804.⁶³⁶ For both of these large-scale events, Lettsom had a temporary pavilion erected adjacent to the house, and there was a lavish array of food and drink. At the so called 'fête' of 1801, the guests included such famous notables as Sir William Hamilton and Lady Emma Hamilton, Admiral Nelson's brother and the Archbishop of 'Bourdeaux' (sic.); the latter was a monarchist, Jérôme-Marie Champion de Cice, favoured by Louis XIV, who had emigrated after the revolution but who would return to France later in 1801.⁶³⁷ At the event in 1804 it was noted that the guests enjoyed themselves 'without the aid of music, singing or cards', and so some basic Quaker rules were upheld. It is easy to imagine that Quaker eyebrows must have been raised at the huge scale of the entertainment, however, with a liberal supply of alcohol. A century later an article on the event in a Quaker journal is somewhat critical. The author speculated on the wisdom of the event, and stated: 'surely no Quaker, before or since, ever entertained such a remarkable company', concluding that this sort of lavishness must explain why Lettsom was forced to part with his property at Grove Hill in 1810, an occurrence which has been attributed elsewhere to his charitable generosity.⁶³⁸

Lettsom's active social-life was one area in which his behaviour appeared to be a rejection of spiritual Quaker values in favour of seeking the company of the rich and famous in non-Quaker society. This fraternisation was frowned upon amongst Quakers, who did not usually seek the perceived superficiality of polite aristocratic society. The article thus noted of the lack of Quaker attendees at Lettsom's funeral: 'one is sorry to find the names of only about two Friends, the more so when one notices such names as Coleridge, Wilberforce, Earl Spence, and many other eminent men'.⁶³⁹ The role as socialite contradicted the Quaker ideal of humility and a quiet life away from self-promotion. This included the use of modest dress, without a sword or elaborate

⁶³⁶ 'Friday May 12, Domestic Occurrences', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1801, pp. 476-7 & 'Wednesday May 23, Domestic Occurrences', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1804, pp. 473-4.

⁶³⁷ P. R. Hanson, *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, (New York: Scarecrow Press, 2004), p. 63.

⁶³⁸ J.J. Green, 'Dr. Lettsom's Rural Fete at Grove Hill, Camberwell', *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, vol. X, 1913, pp. 66-68.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*

powdered wig. Lettsom described his relationship with the King with pride, in the same sentence proud of his social advancement but overt about his Quaker principles:

As a Quaker I could not adopt a military character..... To the King, as an individual, I feel sincere respect and gratitude; he has always been very kind to me, and admitted me more than once into his presence without a court dress, which I never could assume, and perhaps I am the only person who ever kissed his hand unpowdered and unsworded.⁶⁴⁰

Lettsom was thus able to counter criticisms of himself as a socialite by including the image of himself as a family man in his country house description. The group on the lawn engaged in family interaction in the *South View of Grove Hill* are not the only figures shown, however. In keeping with the many guides to grander and more opulent country estates, there is a person tending the gardens. He does not interact with the grouping on the lawn, but is instead busily occupied with the garden on the left hand side of the image, with a scythe in one hand and his back to the party. As with many of the other published descriptions of country houses, there is the implication of a well-managed estate, reflecting positively on the owner, as well as the implication of harmony across the classes. This latter point was emphasised in Maurice's *Grove Hill*:

Here discord to thy deepest darkest cell,
Here social harmony and Lettsom dwell.⁶⁴¹

It is a message which is emphasised in the image of the *South View* in the juxtaposition of polite exchange with industry and productivity.

Maurice's guide includes an image of a view from the turret, in which a group scythe wheat from a field with 'luxuriant harvest, with a ship in the Thames visible in the background (figure 152).⁶⁴² The productivity of Lettsom's ten acre land is thus contextualised within the wider productivity and success of the nation, a point emphasised later by Maurice when he describes having witnessed the British fleet return from India:

While active commerce, fired with the thirst of gain,
Unbounded thrives through all the spacious plain;
Mark yon proud fleet, whose thousand flags unfurled,

⁶⁴⁰ JC Lettsom, 'Letter CXVIII, to Rev J. Plumtre, London April 20, 1805', in Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late John Coakley Lettsom*, Vol. 2, p. 27.

⁶⁴¹ Maurice, *Grove Hill*, p. 6.

⁶⁴² Ibid, pp. 16-17.

To Britain waft the wealth of Asia's world!'⁶⁴³

He elaborated on Britain's central role in a global economy, operated from the visible London and the Thames:

'Her native treasures these; nor these alone,
While Commerce makes the globe's vast wealth her own,
Here, freighted with the gems of India's clime,
On Thames' broad wave rich navies ride sublime:
There, proudly crowning her imperial stream,
The lofty turrets of Augusta gleam'.⁶⁴⁴

This passage is in line with recent research of depictions of the Thames in the period, which show that the river was seen as epitomising Britain's productivity and success.⁶⁴⁵

Lettsom too was keen to write of the visibility of the Thames from his property. He wrote of the 'numerous shipping' so that the view combines 'naval grandeur and rural elegance'.⁶⁴⁶ His interest in the panoramic views at Grove Hill which he mentioned frequently in his guide and elsewhere, leads on to consideration of the 'gentleman's prospect'. In chapter 2 the theory of the gentleman's prospect was discussed with reference to the views at Woburn Abbey, and the idea that the vistas of the picturesque era served more than aesthetic considerations, for they created the sense of the gentleman owning all the land as far as the eye could see, with a power to match the extent of the prospect.⁶⁴⁷ The idea of the prospect was familiar to the literature of the day; James Thomson's earlier poem *The Seasons* had eulogised about the 'boundless Landskip' and 'goodly prospect'.⁶⁴⁸ It was a theme that Lettsom emulated with a poem included in both editions which referred to 'the pleasing prospect round' and he claimed his house could 'afford a prospect of above two hundred miles in circumference'.⁶⁴⁹ The idea of this extensive view having metaphorical as well as literal implications was justified by de Bruyn, and emphasised as an 'aristocratic ideal'. Lettsom claims similar entitlement to the landed gentleman with his vista, and although he did not 'own' as far as the Thames, he certainly mastered an aspect of the metropolis

⁶⁴³ Maurice, *Grove Hill*, p. 20.

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 18.

⁶⁴⁵ G.W. Snell, *A Forest of Masts: the Image of the River Thames in the Long Eighteenth Century*, PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 2014, pp. 145-156.

⁶⁴⁶ Lettsom, *Grove Hill*, p. 15.

⁶⁴⁷ de Bruyn, *The Literary Genres of Edmund Burke*, pp. 111-164.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 111.

⁶⁴⁹ Lettsom, *Grove Hill*, 1794, p. 14 & p. 16.

as one of the most celebrated and high-earning physicians in the country. He did not seek political rule, but rather the right to influence with his medical and horticultural writings, and an elevated place in society. By the use of ‘vistas’, Lettsom associated himself with the landed gentlemen of the day. Edmund Burke had written, however, that the ‘goodly prospect’ could not be bought with money, but was the product of a lineage of generations of property owners.⁶⁵⁰ Lettsom could not offer such a family heritage, but instead is able to add another nuance to the ‘prospect’; he offered a view of the Thames shipping lane with all the implications of global trade and prosperity linked with such a view at the time.⁶⁵¹ Lettsom’s prospect is not only expansive geographically, but has a temporal element; it is also forward- looking rather than backward- looking. He placed himself at the centre point of ships leaving port for future trade, a likely fictional assertion, and at the centre of scientific discovery with his own horticultural and medical research as well as the telegraph visible from his property, to be discussed later.

Maurice also described and illustrated the apiary, which, with 64 hives each labelled with the name of a different nation, is used as a metaphor to suggest the harmony in the closer and wider society (figure 153):

Yon buzzing tribes pursue their ceaseless toil
Loaded with all the garden’s fragrant spoil;
Darkening the air, behold the unnumbered throng,
In driving swarms, harmonious glide along;
All in strong bonds of social union join’d,
One mighty empire, one pervading mind:
No civil discords in that empire rage,
Save when on idle drones dire war they wage.⁶⁵²

Maurice highlights the productivity of the land, as well as the sense of accord promoted by the owner, and he emphasises this as an achievement: ‘Here social harmony and Lettsom dwell’.⁶⁵³

The illustrations which depict workers are in line with Stephen Daniel’s view that such juxtapositions are included to emphasise the smooth-running of the estate.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵⁰ de Bruyn, *The Literary Genres of Edmund Burke*, p. 123.

⁶⁵¹ Snell, *A Forest of Masts*.

⁶⁵² de Bruyn, *The Literary Genres of Edmund Burke*, p. 30.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 6.

⁶⁵⁴ S. Daniels, ‘Goodly Prospects: English Estate Portraiture, 1670-1730’, in N. Alfrey & S. Daniels (eds), *Mapping the Landscape*, (Nottingham: University Art Gallery, 1990), pp. 9-12 & Daniels, *Fields of Vision*.

Ann Laurence has criticised this theory as implying that such topographical scenes depict an accurate scene, whereas she argues that such views had elements of aspiration contained in them.⁶⁵⁵ It is indeed likely that such scenes occurred rarely in the Lettsom household, due to the heavy workload and extended absences that it is known Lettsom imposed on himself.⁶⁵⁶ The illustrations can therefore be interpreted as his wish to be seen as a family-oriented man of simple values, who nonetheless contrived to promote himself as a gentleman of high-status in society. The South View of Grove Hill thus encapsulates these elements and attempts to negotiate between them.

It is the guide authored by Lettsom himself, however, that includes the mix of different classes in one image, emphasising the harmony and smooth running of the estate. Lettsom was clearly particularly keen on this concept, because the south view mentioned already, shows a mix of classes, with a gardener working alongside the family group (figure 148). He also made an interesting change to the gardener from the earlier illustration in *The European Magazine*, who is holding a long-handled rake and is not bending over very far in the original image, but is holding a scythe and is bent double in the image used by Lettsom. He was keen to employ as many workmen as possible as part of his philanthropic attitude to the needy:

I generally keep 8 or 10 men at my villa at Grove Hill and might as a labourer employ any recommendations of thine, as I am sometimes putting up, and at others pulling down, so that I am enabled to employ many poor people.⁶⁵⁷

The inclusion of workers in the guidebooks to Grove Hill are a way of emphasising this attitude, and through these depictions of his property is able to promote his charitable as well as his social, way of life. The subtle change to the gardener, who looks to be more hard at work in the image Lettsom used than in the earlier version, can be seen in the context of criticisms he received about his generosity and his laxity to his staff. He was criticised by his next door neighbour Henry Smith ‘for keeping so many men in idleness’, to which Lettsom apparently retorted: ‘True, neighbour... but who pays them

⁶⁵⁵ A, Laurence, ‘Space Status and Gender English Topographical Paintings c. 1660-c.1740’, pp. 81-94.

⁶⁵⁶ For example ‘Letter III: Dr Lettsom to Dr. Cuming’, October 16, 1782, in Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late John Coakley Lettsom*, Volume 1, p. 54.

⁶⁵⁷ ‘Letter from Dr Lettsom to Dr Sutcliffe, May 14th 1791’, in C. Lawrence & F.A. Macdonald (eds), *Sambrook Court: The Letters of J.C. Lettsom at the Medical Society of London*, (London: The Wellcome Trust, 2003), pp. 133-134.

thou or I?’⁶⁵⁸ To show the gardener so actively engaged was a rebuttal to Smith: a gardener who is bent double over a scythe cannot be judged as leaning idly on a rake.

The representation of a family group alongside a hard-working gardener was also a rebuttal to his Quaker associates who might have criticised his grand parties during his lifetime, as well as the satirical attacks in the press, of which there was at least one. He was aware of a satire of him in the *Westminster Magazine* under the disguise of ‘Dr. Wriggle, or the art of rising in physic’, in which he was represented as a social climber and doctor to the famous, interested only in his own self-aggrandizement.⁶⁵⁹ The article listed Dr. Wriggle’s supposed maxims, including: ‘Force yourself into the company of great men, and the world will think you are one of their number’. Lettsom referred to the author of the article in a letter to his correspondent Dr. Cuming in 1782:

I pity him sincerely: for what must a man feel, who is obliged to publish what he knows to be false, for the frigid enjoyment of injuring another?⁶⁶⁰

Although professing to feel only pity for the author, his own sense on injury is palpable. The letter shows that he was aware of the criticism, and so his guide to Grove Hill published 12 years later, situated him as a family man with a well-run property of benefit to the wider society. As a doctor with a widely established profile, Lettsom was open to criticisms of this kind from a variety of sources. In 1786, Thomas Skeete went to the trouble of publishing a pamphlet attacking Lettsom, after feeling he had unduly influenced the process of election against Skeete as physician to the Finsbury Dispensary.⁶⁶¹ Skeete’s potentially libellous comments were that Lettsom was interested in his name being in the daily papers, and that he interfered unduly in the business of others.⁶⁶² *Grove Hill*, by contrast, shows Lettsom in retreat at his country house surrounded by family, and with philanthropy to the poor at the forefront of his mind, rather than in the buzz of London life, pushing himself forward at every

⁶⁵⁸ Abraham, *Lettsom*, p. 441.

⁶⁵⁹ ‘The Character of Dr Wriggle, or the Art of the Rising Physic’, *Westminster Magazine*, 1782, p. 466.

⁶⁶⁰ ‘Letter III: Dr Lettsom to Dr. Cuming’, October 16, 1782, in Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late John Coakley Lettsom*, Volume 1, p. 54.

⁶⁶¹ T. Skeete, *An Exact Representation of the very uncandid and Extraordinary conduct of Dr. John Coakley Lettsom, as well as previous to, as on, the day of the election for physician to the Finsbury Dispensary with some remarks on the New Finsbury Dispensary*, (London: 1786).

⁶⁶² Skeete, *An Exact Representation of the very uncandid and Extraordinary conduct of Dr. John Coakley Lettsom* p. iv.

opportunity.

Criticism did not only come from his enemies, however. His correspondent Dr Cuming, amongst others, had accused him of failing to spend very much time with his family. In March 1783 Dr. Cuming wrote to Lettsom and criticised his long working hours and infrequent visits to Grove Hill, recommending that he sleeps there every night. In April 1783 Lettsom replied to defend his actions, and explained he finds such separations from his wife to be advantageous, and that he is ‘more fixed to an object where familiarity has not cloyed’.⁶⁶³ The insertion of family into the illustration that Lettsom included in his guide, provided a record of himself at the property engaging with his family in contrast to Cuming’s claims.

The wider benefits to society are alluded to in another view of the property in *Grove Hill: An Horticultural Sketch*, a north view which looks towards the property from the front (figure 154). In the very centre foreground of the image is a gardener who is raking leaves next to a wheelbarrow; his prominence further emphasises the industry of the Grove Hill workforce, as discussed already.⁶⁶⁴ A further element in the image emphasises the productivity of the estate and the philanthropy of the owner, and that is the three tablet reliefs on the property’s frontage. They are the only elements of the house that still exist, because when it was demolished they were removed to nearby 86 Camberwell Road and can still be seen there (figures 155-157). They were made from ‘coade stone’, a composite form of artificial stone which had been manufactured at Mrs. Coade’s factory since about 1769.⁶⁶⁵ Lettsom was enthusiastic about this modern material, and his reliefs are included in lists of coade-stone sculpture from the Georgian period.⁶⁶⁶ The reliefs depict ‘Flora’ in the central oval, and ‘Liberality’ and ‘Plenty’ in the two surrounding rectangular panels.⁶⁶⁷ Flora thus refers to Lettsom’s horticultural passion, with liberality referring to the generosity of nature as well as to Lettsom’s own generosity with others. In his letters he makes reference to his generosity with money,

⁶⁶³ Letters X, Dr Cuming to Dr Lettsom, March 17 1783 & letter XI, Dr Lettsom to Dr Cuming, April 19, 1783, in Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late John Coakley Lettsom*, Volume 1, pp. 57-8.

⁶⁶⁴ Lettsom, *Grove-Hill*, 1794, pp. 10-11.

⁶⁶⁵ A. Kelly, *Mrs. Coade’s Stone*, (Upton-Upon-Severn: The Self-Publishing Association, 1990), p. 37 & A. Kelly, ‘Coade Stone in Georgian Architecture’, *Architectural History*, Vol. 28 (1985), pp. 71-101.

⁶⁶⁶ Kelly, *Mrs. Coade’s Stone*, p. 395.

⁶⁶⁷ ‘Flora, Liberality and Plenty’, *The Public Monument and Sculpture Association, National Recording Project*, at www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-database/1093/ [accessed 04.0413]

and stated that in the preceding year he had spent 600 pounds of his 5000 pounds annual income on donations to the needy.⁶⁶⁸ He was equally generous with his time and set up a number of charitable institutions, including the *Aldersgate Dispensary* for the poor in 1771 as well as the *Sea Bathing Infirmary* at Margate in 1791.⁶⁶⁹

A Later edition of *Grove Hill*

In 1804 a second print run of Lettsom's original guide was published, and two further illustrations were added: of *Dr Lettsom's Park Cottage*, and *The Temple at Grove Hill* (figure 158).⁶⁷⁰ The latter illustration shows an older and a younger woman walking in front of the structure, providing further possible evidence of modest family involvement. The building itself references ancient Greece in its title of Temple, and in the use of pillars around the base. The pillars, however, were made of tree trunks, and wound with ivy in a reference to Lettsom's love of nature; its use as an observatory was indicative of his interest in science. He thus fuses references to classicism, nature and science within one structure. Inside he kept the 'mechanical instruments of Mr. Ferguson', which he used for the education of his sons.⁶⁷¹

Although difficult to see in this reproduction, the illustration shows a very distant view of the Thames, discussed earlier as emphasising Grove Hill's place at the hub of England's trading and naval greatness. This aspect is further emphasised in the later edition, for he elaborates:

This picturesque hill commands the most gratifying views, in which the whole of the metropolis, and the shipping in the Thames are conspicuous.⁶⁷²

The later edition therefore adds another indication of the visibility of London as a key element of the vista.

Another change to the second edition included the removal of a section on plant cultivation, which he states has been removed due to the publication of other books

⁶⁶⁸ 'Letter VII, Dr Lettsom to Dr. Cuming, February 18, 1783', in Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late John Coakley Lettsom*, Volume 1, p. 55.

⁶⁶⁹ Abraham, *Lettsom*, p. 109 & pp. 276-289.

⁶⁷⁰ Lettsom, *Grove-Hill: A Rural and Horticultural Sketch*.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid*, p.10.

⁶⁷² *Ibid*, p.7.

covering the same material since 1794, thus rendering the section ‘superfluous’.⁶⁷³ He added an extensive catalogue of his trees, plants and shrubs, and proudly asserted that his garden is ‘occasionally visited by persons of taste and curiosity’.⁶⁷⁴ He seemed to see his knowledge of horticulture and establishment of kitchen gardens as potentially conveying useful knowledge to visitors. At the same time, the picturesque qualities of the setting are further elaborated to show the balance between beauty and utility. It is in this second edition that he included the quote at the head of this chapter from Spencer’s *Faerie Queen*, which he felt described his garden.

A Godly and learned man

The subject of Lettsom’s philanthropic aims has already been introduced, but *Grove Hill: An Horticultural Guide* made these explicit in the text. In the introduction his avowed aim is to help others to arrange their gardens ‘with respect to ornament as well as agricultural economy’.⁶⁷⁵ Many of his writings focused on ways to help the poor, and such agricultural economy was one way to feed the poor for less money.⁶⁷⁶ He summarised the purpose of his philanthropic actions, and conveys this key aspect of his identity in the concluding paragraph of *Grove Hill: An Horticultural Sketch*:

How much owest thou the Lord?” is an interesting question that should ever dwell near the heart of man. He that receives great favours is the greater debtor, and he that owes much has stronger calls to exercise humility, and all those virtues which conduce to the convenience, the comfort and the happiness of others. May this sentiment inspire the affluent with charity, the great with humility, and the poor with submission: for “unto whomever much is given, of him shall be much required.

He ended with this sermon which sets out his Quaker aims and the way in which he related to others. It is a theme which occurs in many of his writings, and he wrote in *Dr. Lettsom’s Hints for Assisting the Poor*: ‘Benificence is the source of true happiness, and the occasions of exercising it are innumerable’.⁶⁷⁷ His volume *Grove Hill* thus

⁶⁷³ Lettsom, *Grove-Hill: A Rural and Horticultural Sketch*, p.47.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p.7.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. iv.

⁶⁷⁶ For example, J.C. Lettsom, *An Account of the Culture and use of the Mangel Wurzel, or Root of Scarcity*, (London, 1787).

⁶⁷⁷ J.C. Lettsom, ‘Dr. Lettsom’s Hints for Assisting the Poor’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, June, 1780.

depicted this aspect of his nature rather than his activities as a social climber. He thus reclaimed his image from his critics, and established himself as a godly, charitable man.

Thomas Maurice's *Grove Hill* placed a similar emphasis on duty to God and others, but emphasises the worship of nature as God's creation. He added to the book his poem *Ode to Mithra* which praises the ancient Hindu divinity for the beneficence of nature; Maurice's profession in *Indian Antiquities* led him to be interested in different forms of religious worship. An illustration opposite the beginning of his introduction to *Grove Hill* depicts a turbaned figure who is prostrating before a smoking urn amongst foliage as the sun rises (figure 159).

The satire of Lettsom published in 1782 and referred to above, also criticised his pretensions to be seen as learned and 'of deep learning'.⁶⁷⁸ This was an unfair criticism, as he does appear to have been generally interested in learning, and educated himself on a wide range of subjects. He had not, however, benefitted from an expensive education or from the assistance in his development that an engaged and affluent background might have provided. He was sent from Tortola at the age of six, and attended a Quaker school in Yorkshire. After being apprenticed to an apothecary he gained sufficient knowledge to be able to work to fund his own medical degree at Leiden.⁶⁷⁹ His emphasis of the library and museum is indeed the only part of the interior of the property depicted in either of the guides. This inclusion is indicative of his passion, but also of his defensiveness of, or at least pride in, an academic status.

Both of the guides to Grove Hill list the sculpted busts which decorated it.⁶⁸⁰ The use of statuary as decorative additions in the eighteenth-century library has been described as one element, as well as the books housed there, which make a statement about social status.⁶⁸¹ The library was a stage where a sense of learning and gravitas could be conveyed, whilst simultaneously housing ancient sculptures perhaps collected on the Grand Tour. As early as 1602, Lipsius had advocated the depiction of writers

⁶⁷⁸ 'The Character of Dr Wriggle, or the Art of the Rising Physic', *Westminster Magazine*, 1782, p. 466.

⁶⁷⁹ Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late John Coakley Lettsom*, Volume I, pp 1-10 & Abraham, *Lettsom*, pp. 1-97.

⁶⁸⁰ Maurice, *Grove Hill*, p. 39 & Lettsom, *Grove Hill: An Horticultural Sketch*, p. 11.

⁶⁸¹ T. Opper, 'Ancient Glory and modern learning: the sculpture-decorated library', in K. Sloan, (ed.) *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in The Eighteenth Century*, (London: British Museum Press, 2003), p.58.

and thinkers in a library in order to serve as a source of inspiration.⁶⁸² Thomas Coke used sculpture gained from his Grand Tour of 1712-18, and from later trips he commissioned others to carry out, throughout his property at Holkham including in the library where he placed casts of Venus, Cybele, a Vestal Virgin and Alexander Pope.⁶⁸³ Another library which was built in the mid-eighteenth century, and which was ornamented with classical sculpture was the seat of Nathaniel Curzon at Kedleston.⁶⁸⁴ Lettsom was therefore continuing a trend which had begun at other, grander, seats.

The account of the library at Merly, a copy of which Lettsom sent to his friend Revd. Plumtree, is the first published description of a country house library in the genre of the country house guide in this research sample; the previous literature also does not list an earlier description. Published in 1785, it contained illustrations of the bookcases showing the ornamentation with classical busts.⁶⁸⁵ Lettsom described his favourable impressions of the layout, so it can be presumed that he was influenced in the design of his own library and the subsequent inclusion of sculptures in it; the publication as a whole may also have partly inspired his own book on Grove Hill. Lettsom commented that Willet's library included: 'in its paintings and statuary, the progress of religion and of the arts'.⁶⁸⁶ Willet's busts were of: Osiris, 'Manco Capac of Peru', Minerva, Apollo, Adam, Confucius and 'Our Savior'.⁶⁸⁷ However, there is a key difference between the choice of sculptures in Lettsom's library and those in other libraries of the time. Lettsom's sculptures are not of classical, or even biblical subjects, but instead depicted characters with much more personal and idiosyncratic resonance.

The sculptures are listed in both guides to Grove Hill, with an illustration of a studious figure reading in the library in the later guide by Maurice.⁶⁸⁸ It is noteworthy that all of the busts, with the exceptions of Voltaire and Benjamin Franklin, depicted English figures, and that 8 of the 17 busts were contemporaries and associates of Lettsom. There is therefore a sense that he is aggrandizing his own circle, and by

⁶⁸² Oppen, 'Ancient Glory and modern learning', p. 59.

⁶⁸³ Ibid & E. Angelicoussis, 'The Sculptures', in L. Schmidt et al. (eds), *Holkham*, (London: Prestel, 2005), pp. 164-70.

⁶⁸⁴ Oppen, *Ancient Glory and modern learning*, p. 61.

⁶⁸⁵ R. Willet, *A Description of the Library at Merly*, (London: Printed for the author, Ralph Willett Esq by John Nichols), 1785.

⁶⁸⁶ 'Letter from Dr. Lettsom to Revd Plumtree', Dec. 1 1804, in: Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the life and writings of the late John Coakley Lettsom*, vol. 2, 1817, p. 23.

⁶⁸⁷ Willet, *A Description of the Library at Merly*, pp. 8-35.

⁶⁸⁸ Lettsom, *Grove Hill: A Rural and Horticultural Sketch*, p. 11 & Maurice, *Grove Hill*, pp. 10-11.

association himself. The figures depicted also strongly represent his interests and thinking, and can thus be seen as a very personal statement. The busts fall into the categories of physicians and scientists, Quakers, satirists and politicians. Four of the busts were of physicians: Percivall Pott, Thomas Sydenham, Richard Mead and John Fothergill; the latter was also a Quaker, and Lettsom's mentor of whom he wrote a biography.⁶⁸⁹ Robert Boyle and John Newton were scientists; William Stukeley, the latter's friend and biographer, who also had archaeological and medical interests, was a contemporary and associate of Lettsom.⁶⁹⁰ The category of enlightenment thinkers was represented by busts of Francis Bacon and John Locke;⁶⁹¹ busts of John Milton and Walter 'Rawleigh' supplemented and extended the representative of renowned British figures.

A bust of John Wesley was included as, although not a Quaker, he was a clergyman and originator of methodism who shared many of Lettsom's views. These common areas of interest included: the importance of a personal relationship with God, the benefits of philanthropy, a hatred of the slave trade and the promotion of the health benefits of fresh air and cold water.⁶⁹² Joseph Addison and William Hogarth are likely to have been depicted because of their publications of satire and social critique, in particular Hogarth's mockery of quack doctors, whom Lettsom was particularly keen to expose.⁶⁹³ He launched a campaign against the quack Dr. Myersbach who had popularised the 'theory' of 'urine casting'. Lettsom complained in a letter to the *Gazetteer* in 1776: 'Dr Myersbach knew less of urine than a chambermaid, and as little of medicine as most of his patients'.⁶⁹⁴ Hogarth had earlier mocked 'urine casting' in his engraving *Arms of the Undertakers*, in which 15 gentlemen earnestly sniff whilst gathered around a

⁶⁸⁹ J. Kirkup, *Percivall Pott, (1714–1788), surgeon*, 'Oxford Dictionary of National Biography', at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22604> [accessed 15.01.13] & R.H. Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill and Friends: Chapters in Eighteenth-Century Life*, (London: Macmillan & Co Ltd, 1919) p.3, 11, 15 80, 125 & pp. 99-117.

⁶⁹⁰ D.B. Haycock, Stukeley, William (1687–1765), antiquary and natural philosopher, 'Oxford Dictionary of National Biography', www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26743?docPos=1 [accessed 15.01.13].

⁶⁹¹ M. Peltonen, *Bacon, Francis, Viscount St Alban (1561–1626), lord chancellor, politician, and philosopher*, 'Oxford Dictionary of National Biography', at: www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/990?docPos=1

⁶⁹² H. D. Rack, *John Wesley (1703-1791)*, 'Dictionary of National Biography', at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29069?docPos=1>

⁶⁹³ Abraham, *Lettsom*, pp. 167-184.

⁶⁹⁴ Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the life and writings of John Coakley Lettsom*, vol. 1, p. 17 & Abraham, *Lettsom*, p. 171.

urinal.⁶⁹⁵ Lettsom's agenda was therefore very much in line with Hogarth's societal critique. John Dryden was also known as a 'conservative satirist', popular in the earlier century for his religious and political poetry, again echoing Lettsom's interests.⁶⁹⁶

The final two individuals who were represented by busts in Lettsom's library, were the only two non-English figures, and both of them shared Lettsom's passion for liberality and freedom. Francois-Marie Arouet, known as Voltaire, was dangerously frank in his critique of social injustice in France in the face of powerful opposition, including from Louis X. Benjamin Franklin, famous as a prominent abolitionist, scientist and politician, had, in his capacity as Governor of Pennsylvania, made strong links in the Quaker community of London, where he stayed for an extended period. He subsequently became an intimate and correspondent of Lettsom and they discussed political issues of the day including slavery.⁶⁹⁷

Lettsom's own guide does not contain any illustrations of the interior of the house: the book by Maurice has interior illustrations only of the library and museum.⁶⁹⁸ The illustration of the interior of the library shows a man, possibly Lettsom, immersed in reading a book to the light of an oil lamp, with a bust and urn nearby (figure 160). There is a sense that this is not an illustration of the details of Lettsom's actual library, but rather an evocation of the ethos of learning and the use of the library as a place of activity rather than simply of decoration. It reminds the reader of the erudition of the owner, who had struggled by his own means to fund his medical study. A further illustration next to a description of the museum, shows an eclectic assemblage of objects reminiscent of the cabinets of curiosities of a former age (figure 161). The illustration is similar to other museum illustrations of the day, such as the illustration for the Portland Museum published in 1786 (figure 162).⁶⁹⁹ The exotic items, such as the coral and the shell, are appropriate objects of scientific interest, but also evoke Lettsom's origins in the Virgin Islands. His correspondence shows that he continued to receive packages of shells from The Virgin Islands, including from his former slave

⁶⁹⁵ J. Burke & C. Caldwell, *Hogarth*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974) plate 168 [1968].

⁶⁹⁶ J. Hammond, *John Dryden (1631-1700), poet, critic and playwright*, 'Oxford Dictionary of National Biography', at: www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8108?docPos=5 [accessed 15.01.13].

⁶⁹⁷ For example, 'Letter from Dr. Franklin to Dr. Lettsom March 6, 1783', in Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life of John Coakley Lettsom*, vol. 1, p. 86.

⁶⁹⁸ Maurice, *Grove Hill*, pp. 10-13.

⁶⁹⁹ K. Sloan, (ed.) *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), p. 87.

Teresa.⁷⁰⁰ A copy of a ‘deed of manumission’ held at the library of the Society of Friends, shows that he freed her in 1782: they continued to correspond with each other after this date. He may have acquired his interest in forming a museum from his mentor, Quaker physician John Fothergill. He spent many hours at Fothergill’s house, and Betty Fothergill noted in her diaries that Lettsom was charged with ordering Fothergill’s shell collection, and also proved an able guide for a party on a trip to the British Museum in 1770, where he was noted to be ‘perfectly acquainted with almost everything’.⁷⁰¹

As well as a personal interest in medicine and horticultural advancements, Lettsom possessed almost evangelical zeal for promoting to others the knowledge he had learnt or developed. This is evidenced in his many letters, and an obituary published in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* in the year of his death in 1815, lists 21 publications to his name in addition to many articles, pamphlets and letters to the *Gentleman’s Magazine*. His published books included such titles as *An Account of the Culture and Use of the Mangel Wurzel, or Root of Scarcity*, published in 1787, and *Observations on Human Dissections*, published in 1788, as well as more philanthropic works such as *Hints Respecting the Distresses of the Poor* published during the hard winter with high grain prices of 1794-5.⁷⁰² The library therefore represents a key aspect of Lettsom’s identity as a writer and learned scholar. His published description of Grove Hill itself is both evidence of his learning because of its contents, but also because of its existence as another of his publications.

The telegraph and a modern spectacle

A dynamic aspect of Lettsom’s learning is seen in his interest in new developments. Maurice’s guide includes a rare illustration of the optical telegraph, at least two of which were visible from Grove Hill (figure 163). They linked to Lettsom’s passion for science and discovery, as well as being a further global link and international reference. Maurice wrote:

And by the Telegraphs’ connecting chain,

⁷⁰⁰ Abraham, *Lettsom*, p. 63.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 81 & p. 95.

⁷⁰² ‘John Coakley Lettsom, A Memoir’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, vol. LXXXV, 1815.

That wide through earth extends her genial reign,
Bids nations, distant as the burning line
And frozen pole, in social converse join.⁷⁰³

The telegraph consisted of a grid of six panels each of which could be swivelled to different positions by an operator to indicate certain letters or words.⁷⁰⁴ A network of telegraphs formed a link between the coast and London, developed primarily to convey a message if there were a threat of French invasion.⁷⁰⁵ The telegraph system lasted only a few years and was superseded by the electrical telegraph. Lettsom was extremely proud of the view, and wrote that ‘five Telegraphs may be distinctly seen, by the eye alone’.⁷⁰⁶ The telegraph is a reference to scientific innovation, and is another element which places Lettsom’s property at the centre of discovery and communication; it also emphasised his ‘gentlemanly prospect’ over London as discussed earlier. Ogborn has described the extent of the commercial engagements world-wide that relied on London as a centre.⁷⁰⁷ Lettsom was therefore establishing his position geographically at this global centre, and linked this location with the technological advances of the day.

Ogborn has further written of the many different modernities and identities within eighteenth-century London, and how these connected between geographical spaces. Lettsom’s elegant and modest domestic estate was one arena for the enactment of one sort of eighteenth-century identity. His vista shows a glimpse of further eighteenth-century geographies, with the implication of other eighteenth-century identities and of the interconnections between them that were possible, symbolised by the presence of the telegraph.

Ogborn conceptualised the ‘Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens’ as one geographical site for the spectacle modernities, with opportunities for seeing others, both overtly and illicitly, and for being seen.⁷⁰⁸ He cited the example of Mrs Hartley, an actress, whose discomfort at being stared at led to a duel between the host of her group, Henry Bate, and one of the voyeurs. The latter were described as ‘Macaronis’, a term which came to be derogatory, and which referred to the fashionable, over-styled young men of the day. Whilst Vauxhall was a site of commodification, of luxury and of assignation with a

⁷⁰³ Maurice, *Grove Hill*, p.19

⁷⁰⁴ K. De Decker, ‘The History of the Telegraph’, *Optical Magazine*, at: <http://www.lowtechmagazine.com/2007/12/email-in-the-18.html> [accessed 14.03.13]

⁷⁰⁵ Abraham, *Lettsom*, p. 301.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰⁷ Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity*.

⁷⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-157.

frisson of danger, Grove Hill offered a very different eighteenth-century site, of domesticity, gentility and purpose without overt luxury. It could therefore be seen as a contrast with, and also as a refusal of, the sort of identities paraded at Vauxhall. Ogborn stated that from the 1770s there was a backlash against excessive luxury in favour of a more sober respectability.⁷⁰⁹ Lettsom's and Maurice's guidebooks both advertised the latter, and show a site of substance and utility over superficiality and frivolity.

A comparison between the guidebooks and other representations of Grove Hill

Lettsom cited the motivation behind writing a book himself about Grove Hill as due to 'several applications made for this account' following reference to his property in a survey of the road from London to Brighton, which was subsequently copied into 'various periodical publications'.⁷¹⁰ This account turned out to be *A Companion from London to Brighthelmston*, and it included a view of the property (figure 148).⁷¹¹

Grove Hill was not the sort of country estate belonging to a member of the aristocracy that might be included in a county guide: it is perhaps surprising that it had come to the attention of a topographical writer at all, but Lettsom was extremely well-known as a physician and writer, contributing regularly to publications such as the *Gentleman's Magazine*. This fame might have brought Grove Hill to the attention of some topographical authors and periodical contributors. *A Companion...* was first published in 1792, and contained only four views of seats: these were 'the seat of Samuel Long, Carshalton', 'Prospect Place, Wimbledon, Surrey', 'seat of Joseph Caten, Beckenham' and Lettsom's house at Grove Hill.⁷¹² The 1801 re-print of the same book had the same text, but an additional four illustrations of Grove Hill, the only property to have such additional material inserted.⁷¹³ It is also possible that Lettsom's own promotion of his property led to the inclusion of these additional views, which were from his guidebook of 1794. It was Lettsom's own guide, followed by the second one written by his friend in 1799, that also paved the way for Grove Hill to be included in a county guide to

⁷⁰⁹ Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity*, p. 139.

⁷¹⁰ Lettsom, *Grove-Hill*, p. iii.

⁷¹¹ J. Edwards, *A Companion from London to Brighthelmston*, (London, 1792).

⁷¹² Ibid.

⁷¹³ J. Edwards, *A Companion from London to Brighthelmston*, 2nd edn, (London, 1801).

Surrey in 1813.⁷¹⁴

In common with county guides, the early illustrations published of Grove Hill in periodicals were all a simple south view of the house; both of the guidebooks to the property explored a variety of views, the second contained some interior illustrations. This is typical of the capacity of the individual guidebook to go beyond a simple external view, and to represent it in a more detailed account which allowed biographical information to emerge. Staffage was added to the illustrations, as well as a variety of detail that conveyed the individuality of the owner and his purpose.

Conclusion

Maurice summed up the central tenets of Lettsom's message when he proclaimed that Grove Hill was a product of:

Thy chaster taste and less aspiring mind,
In yon fair structure use and beauty joined.⁷¹⁵

He thus stressed the humility of Lettsom's aims alongside their utility. Both published house descriptions can be seen as illustrating this message in a variety of ways, through a depiction of the 'plain structure' of the house, and the productivity of the gardens and greenhouse. Lettsom's usefulness extended to his promotion of, and interest in, science, another vehicle for the greater good. Both descriptions also emphasise the godliness of this utility. Lettsom is thus able, through these books, to reinstate his image as a godly and humble Quaker, a rebuttal of critiques of him as a self-centred social climber. His family values were emphasised by the grouping on the lawn in *South View*, suggesting that his central focus is domestic rather than neglectful or socialising.

Lettsom also conveyed a sense of his deep learning by depicting the museum and library: the only parts of the interior described. His interests in botany, horticulture, innovation and science are all depicted in a variety of ways, making the books very personal accounts of Lettsom as a man. This image extends to the implication of himself as a gentleman by the insertion of various gentlemanly codes such as: elegant leisure on the lawn, academic interests and collections, and the expansive exterior

⁷¹⁴ Maurice, *Grove Hill*, & F. Shoberl, *Beauties of England and Wales: Suffolk, Surrey and Sussex*.

⁷¹⁵ Maurice, *Grove Hill*, p. 10.

settings with vistas appropriate for the gentlemanly prospect. Perhaps the most gentlemanly aspect of the endeavour is the very publication of such books, when the precedent for other such guides had been from the great estates such as Wilton House and Houghton. His description of the library, it has been seen, was directly influenced by the description of a far grander property at Merly. Lettsom made a key change in the decoration of his library from any known preceding library decoration: the busts surrounding it are almost exclusively of his contemporaries rather than of classical or historical figures, and several of these are of his own associates. By this innovative method he creates a learned grouping amongst whom he is integral.

Lettsom's use of his books as gifts for friends and associates rather than for any potential tourist market, adds to the existing knowledge of this little explored genre of literature. It is also evidence to support the purpose of the books to convey information about himself as well as about his property: he was in total control of who received this information, and when. Grove Hill can thus be seen as an example of a stage for the enactment of particular eighteenth-century identity: a domestic stage where Lettsom was able to enact a very personal and specific performance. The published descriptions of Grove Hill are representations of a carefully set stage, with Lettsom's own manifesto for life clearly drawn out.

Final Conclusion

Magnificence with purest taste we find
 Within the hospitable dome combined—
 Where polish'd kindness greets each honour'd guest,
 And Anna's smiles exalt and crown the feast.⁷¹⁶

The largely unanalysed genre of the early country house guidebook offers great scope beyond a factual description of the contents of a property. As the anonymous author of a guide to Ammerdown in Somerset was keen to promote in the quote above, the house was both an object of admiration in its own right and a vehicle for the projection and display of the qualities of the owner. In the secondary literature which does exist, the bias towards considering the guidebook from the perspective of the tourists' reception or as an objective document neglects the huge potential for analysis of the sub-agendas which were involved in these publications. These less overt potential messages included a justification of the country estate in general, as well as more individual markers which related to the house owner himself. The issue of the commission, details of production and uses and distribution of the guidebook are all previously neglected aspects. Analysis of these has shown involvement of the house owner in the production of these books, a fact which emphasises the relevance of relating their contents to his motivations, interests and agendas. This thesis has begun to rectify the lack of research into the guidebook, and to highlight this fruitful source of material on the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. It has begun the innovative task of looking beyond the guidebook as merely a factual account of the estate, and to acknowledge that in objectivity is in question, at least in the choice and emphasis in the contents.

It was first of all noticeable that the number of surviving guidebooks from the period 1720-1845 is much higher than previously thought. Many of these 152 different guides were not available for sale on the open market, but were rather intended for private distribution, as a gift to visiting friends or relatives, or to send to the owners of other country estates either in the neighbouring area or further afield. In addition many of the editions, that is 55 in total, were not easily portable and so more likely to be intended as a luxurious and impressive addition to the library. It is perhaps not

⁷¹⁶ *Description of the Mansion Marbles and Pictures at Ammerdown*, Bath, c. 1818, pp. 4-5.

surprising that the publication of guidebooks was dominated by the south of England, and particularly the countries around London, and networks of influence can be seen between at least some of the estate owners, who can be seen to have owned guides to other properties before instigating one for their own. The peak in publications in the final decade of this research is slightly later than previously thought, but in line with the decrease on country house visits across the Victorian period. That many of the later Victorian publications were smaller and more likely to be a catalogue of the collection points to a decline in the trend for luxury folio guides.

This survey of country house guidebooks has given a wealth of information about the extent and distribution of the editions published in the period. Further from this examination of the authorship has shown that many, as expected, were anonymous, and many others were written by professional guide writers, architects or historians. It was perhaps more surprising the extent to which country estate owners were often the authors of guides to their own property; it is likely that their involvement is even greater, and accounts for some of the anonymous guides. This is a sector of the genre, Horace Walpole aside, that has not been considered at all in the secondary literature. Country house owners seemed moved to write about their own properties at a particular hiatus in their lives, and the contents of most of the self-authored guides showed an interest in displaying the fruits of a passion for collecting. The writing of a guidebook, like an amateur interest in architecture, was seen as a suitable gentlemanly pursuit. There were other more idiosyncratic motivations behind the authorship of guidebooks however, such as Francis Charles Fox's book about his seat Brislington House near Bristol.⁷¹⁷ This publication was an appropriation of the genre of guidebook writing, and resembled other books in this sample, but was aimed at marketing his insane asylum at the same site.

This highly individual and often personal nature to the contents of much of the sample led to the question of how the illustrations compared to other, more general publications such as county guides or series of views of seats. It was found that the county guide depiction was almost always a view looking at the property which contextualised it within the county and which classified the property type. Individual country house guides, by contrast, often showed a vista looking out, and used the

⁷¹⁷ Fox, *History and present state of Brislington House near Bristol*.

additional scope of the publication to give a much more detailed and nuanced description, with implications for the identity and status of the house owner. For the power houses of the aristocracy, a county guide depiction usually preceded the publications of a guide: the reverse was the case for the rest of the sample. So whilst the extensive country seat of a member of the nobility was seen as an object to glorify the honour of the county, it was left to the owners of the lesser seats to promote their own property.

Many of the findings outlined above were analysed in greater depth in the four case studies presented: two of properties owned by members of the aristocracy, Woburn Abbey and Cotehele House and the Deepdene, owned by wealthy but untitled Thomas Hope, and a house on the periphery of London, Grove Hill, owned by a doctor. For all of these properties, the results just described regarding the differences between illustrations in county guides and individual guides held true. Woburn Abbey was seen in the county guides as a ducal seat, and the symmetry of the west front was depicted; the seven guidebooks, however, described the property beyond this typological statement to include a wealth of information about the family, the collections and the history. Cotehele, which was depicted as a modest rural house ensconced in the Cornish countryside and near the river border with Devon, was developed in its guidebook to appear comfortable but decaying and historical and emphasising the continuity of the family lineage. The Deepdene and Grove Hill were depicted in guidebooks with an emphasis on elements of personal identity and even theory: a new conceptualisation of the picturesque at the Deepdene, and the medicinal benefits of horticulture at Grove Hill. Later county guide depictions of these properties, and an earlier guide to the route from 'London to Brighthelmston', included simple plain frontage illustrations of the house.

The Woburn guides upheld the importance and status of the Duke of Bedford, and emphasised good taste, virtue and charitable deeds. The Earl of Edgcumbe's status was also emphasised at Cotehele, but in a different way: as the secondary country seat there was a sense of the great extent of the family's property. Both Thomas Hope and John Coakley Lettsom had social aspirations that were underpinned by and demonstrated in the guides to their properties. Hope aimed at a title, but was also keen to influence public taste both for interiors and exterior architectural style. Lettsom

propounded his ideas through many publications, and his self-written guide to Grove Hill not only displayed aspects of his personal identity that he wished to promote, but involved the use of a medium which had tended to be reserved for larger properties.

Lettsom's decision to write his own guidebook, later supplemented by another guide authored by a friend and Quaker associate, underlines the importance of the project of publication to him, and the accuracy of it as a record of the image he wished to promote. Although the guides to Woburn, the Deepdene and Cotehele were not written by the owner, they were probable commissions: at least one of the Woburn guides was an in-house production, Hope commissioned the unfinished guide to the Deepdene, and correspondence between the Edgcumbes and the Cotehele guidebook author shows a close communication between them.

The timing of the decision to publish a guidebook often marked an event or development at the property: the many Woburn guides were published after building work at the house had been completed, such as the new sculpture gallery, and the building developments at Grove Hill and the Deepdene had also largely finished when guides to these properties were produced. The guidebook for Cotehele was around the time of a royal visit to the property by Queen Victoria.

The emphasis on the 'Olden Time' in the Cotehele guidebook fitted in with fashions and interests of the day, but was also an opportunity to stress the longevity of the family and its ownership of the house, from the days of Merry England, through the Civil war and into the early Victorian era. The family's status was thus enhanced by this reference to their constancy. The Woburn Abbey guides also highlight the longevity of the family, linking this to their ownership after the dissolution of the monasteries, a period which was referenced by the depiction of monks at the west front of the house. The Cotehele guide shows a composite history with elements from different periods sometimes within one illustration: at Woburn the change from abbey to house is thus seen as an almost seamless transition. Hope and Lettsom had neither ancient history nor family tradition to highlight in their guides; the Deepdene was an eighteenth-century villa acquired in recent years and Grove Hill was built under the instruction of the owner. Instead elements of the new were highlighted: at the Deepdene this was an innovative theory of the picturesque shared by the author and owner, and at Grove Hill Lettsom's advanced horticultural techniques were juxtaposed

with technological advances such as the telegraph communication system and the global connections of the Thames shipping lane. In all cases the smooth running of the estate was implicit, peopled by maids and gamekeepers at Cotehele, by garden workers at Grove Hill and by a laundry maid in the drying grounds at the Deepdene.

The editorial choices that were made in the guidebooks to convey these messages tended towards the depiction of the less private areas of the house, a trend which increased across the period in the Woburn books, whose routes became more exclusive of private rooms in the house. The contents strayed beyond factual objectivity in some cases. The addition of historical figures in the Woburn and Cotehele illustrations hinted at a 'living' history and a smooth transition from age to age. The west tower at Cotehele was clad with ivy, not seen in contemporary illustrations of the property published elsewhere, and the property was infused a hint of decay that belied the comfortable appearance of the interiors with roaring fires and circulating servants. Nature also encroached at the Deepdene in a way that was a contrast to other published illustrations of the house, not to suggest decay, but to support the idea of the house exemplifying a theory of the picturesque in which architecture and foliage interacted and intertwined. In further support of this aim the landscape was depicted as even more hilly, and paths were inserted into rocky outcrops. Lettsom's illustrations of Grove Hill appear to have left the landscape intact, albeit with a slightly implausibly close view of the Thames, which is 4 miles from Camberwell at its closest point. Instead he had windows opened, a family inserted and a gardener hard at work to counteract contemporary satires of him as neglectful of his family and overly lenient with staff.

The guidebook is therefore misnamed, or perhaps too aptly named. It did not guide the eighteenth and nineteenth century readers from room to room in an objective fashion, but rather guided the thoughts of the reader towards a positive view of the house owner, towards a certain view of the property but also of the family. The reader may not have been aware of the extent to which he was being guided: a cautionary note for historians to consider in further analysis of this under-explored field.

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42. W. Denn, 'Audley End', in W. Watts, *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry In a Collection of the most interesting and Picturesque Views engraved by W. Watts, from Drawings by the Most eminent Artists with a Description of each View*, (London: W. Watts, 1779).

43. J. P. Neale Audley End from Neale's Views of Seats, Vol. 1 (London: Neale & Sherwood, 1819)
44. Edward Blore, 'West View of Audley End', in Richard Griffin, Baron Braybrooke, *The History of Audley End; to which are appended notices of the town and parish of Saffron Walden, etc.* (London: S. Bentley, 1836).
45. Henry Winstanley, 'A Generall Prospect of the Royall Pallace of Audley End in the County of Sussex', in Richard Griffin, Baron Braybrooke, *The History of Audley End; to which are appended notices of the town and parish of Saffron Walden, etc.* (London: S. Bentley, 1836).
46. Joseph Nash, Audley End, Essex: The Porch, from J. Nash, *Mansions of England in the Olden Time*, plate VIII, (London: T. McLean, 1839).
47. C.J. Richardson, 'The Staircase at Audley End', in: C.J. Richardson, *Old English Mansions*, (London: Thomas McLean, 1842).
48. J.D. Harding, 'Audley End', in S. C. Hall, *Baronial Halls and Picturesque Edifices. From Drawings by J.D. Harding and other artists. Executed in Lithotint under the superintendence of Mr. Harding*, (London, 1846), pp. 6-7.

Illustrations for chapter 2 Woburn Abbey: A Grand Seat Represented

49. In descending order of size: P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (London: J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827) (in this copy bound with the *Vitruvius Britannicus* for Hatfield and Hardwick), *Outline Descriptions and Engravings of the Woburn Abbey Marbles* (London: W. Nichol, Shakspeare Press, 1822), J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (Woburn, 1831) & S.Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity; containing also a concise genealogy of the house of Russell, and memoirs of the Late Francis Duke of Bedford*, (Woburn: S.Dodd, 1818).
50. S.Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity; containing also a concise genealogy of the house of Russell, and memoirs of the Late Francis Duke of Bedford*, (Woburn: S.Dodd, 1818).
51. *Outline Descriptions and Engravings of the Woburn Abbey Marbles* (London: W. Nichol, Shakspeare Press, 1822), frontispiece, taken from a facsimile copy.
52. P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (London: J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827).
53. J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (Woburn, 1831).
54. H. Repton, 'The present View to the Westward' and 'The same view with the additions in the portico', in *The Red Book: Woburn Abbey*, taken from S. Daniels, *Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 174 [1999].
55. 'The Library', in P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual*

- measurement*, (London: J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827), no page number.
56. 'Market House and High Street Woburn', in J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (Woburn, 1831), pp. 142-143.
 57. 'Woburn Church', in J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (Woburn, 1831), pp. 144-145.
 58. 'West front and approach, Woburn Abbey', Photo: G. Riddy, (August, 2012).
 59. 'Plan of the Principal Story', from P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (London: J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827), no page number, with overlay of the three routes around the house by G. & P. Riddy [29.06.2013].
 60. 'Woburn Abbey', in S.Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity; containing also a concise genealogy of the house of Russell, and memoirs of the Late Francis Duke of Bedford*, (Woburn: S.Dodd, 1818), pp. 44-45.
 61. 'Woburn Abbey, West front', in J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (London: Longman and Co., Woburn: S. Dodd & Brighton: F. Wright, 1831).
 62. 'West Front, Woburn Abbey', in P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827), no page number.
 63. 'Exterior of the Sculpture Gallery', in P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827) no page number.
 64. 'Woburn Abbey in its Former State', in J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (London: Longman and Co., Woburn: S. Dodd & Brighton: F. Wright, 1831).
 65. 'Fonthill Abbey, Window & c. in St. Michael's Gallery', in J. Britton, *Illustrations, Graphic and Literary, of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire*, (London: Printed for the author, 1823), Plate X, pp. 12-13.
 66. 'Frontispiece: Woburn Abbey in Its Former State', in J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (Woburn, 1831), (Canadian Centre for Architecture copy).
 67. 'Elevation of the West front', P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (London: J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827), no page number.
 68. Antonio Canova, *The Three Graces*, marble, courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Photo: P.Riddy (May 2013).
 69. 'The Graces', in *Outline Descriptions and Engravings of the Woburn Abbey Marbles* (London: W. Nichol, Shakspeare Press, 1822), Plate XLI, pp. 174-5.
 70. 'The Graces', *Outline Descriptions and Engravings of the Woburn Abbey Marbles* (London: W. Nichol, Shakspeare Press, 1822), Plate XLII, pp. 178-9.

Illustrations for chapter 3: Cotehele House: Representation of a Seat from the 'Olden Time'

71. 'Dedication' in N. Condry, *'Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar'*, c. 1845.
72. Main entrance to Cotehele with gatehouse, Cornwall, May 2011. Photo: I. Riddy.
73. Mount Edgcumbe House, Cornwall, May 2011. Photo: G. Riddy.
74. N. Condry, *Cotheel on Rent Day*, c. 1830s.
75. Alms dish, Nuremburg, Cotehele House
<http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/347970>
76. Dining room, Cotehele, 1860, Mt. Edgcumbe archive.
77. N.M. Condry, *The Victoria and Albert [I] and Fairy, with the Admiralty Yacht Black Eagle, entering Barnpool, 21 August 1846*, 30.2 x 35.3 cm, Royal Collection, RCIN 45080, Reference(s): RL 23540 & DM 1195, at: at the Royal Collection Website: <http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/450803/the-victoria-and-albert-i-and-fairy-with-the-admiralty-yacht-black>.
78. N.M Condry, *the royal barge rowing ashore from the Fairy to land at Cotehele Quay*, 17.0 x 25.5 cm, Royal Collection, RCIN 920177, Reference(s): RL 20177 & DM.
79. N. Condry, *The Royal Yacht lying in Barn-Pool, her Majesty returning from her visit to Mount Edgcumbe*, 1843, hand-coloured lithograph, 215 mm x 239 mm National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, PAD6533, National Maritime Museum website at: <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/110684.html>
80. N. Condry, 'Plan of Cotehele' in *'Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar'*, c. 1845, lithograph.
81. Nicholas Condry, *frontispiece of 'Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar'*, c. 1845, lithograph.
82. J. Nash, *The Mansions of England in the Olden Time*, (London: T. McLean, 1839).
83. Nicholas Condry, 'Quadrangle' in *'Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar'*, c. 1845.
84. Nicholas Condry, 'The Drawing Room' in *'Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar'*, c. 1845, lithograph.
85. N. Condry, 'The Hall' in *'Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar'*, c. 1845, lithograph.
86. N. Condry, 'The Hall' in *'Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar'*, c. 1845, lithograph.
87. John Buckler, *Interior View of the Hall at Cotehele, Cornwall*, drawing, 1821 (Courtesy of the Cotehele archives).
88. Nicholas Condry, 'The Hall' in *'Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar'*, c. 1845, lithograph.

89. 'Nicholas Condry, 'The Entrance' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.
90. Nicholas Condry, *The Hall, Antony*, lithograph. Source: National Trust at <http://www.ntprints.com/image/344339/>
91. Nicholas Condry, 'The Western Tower' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.
92. Nicholas Condry, 'The Kitchen' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.
93. Nicholas Condry, 'Ante-Room' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.
94. Nicholas Condry, 'The Red Room' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.
95. Nicholas Condry, 'The White Room' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.
96. Nicholas Condry, 'Chapel in the Wood' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.
97. 'Tower at Knole', from: Brady, John, H. *The Visitor's Guide to Knole in the county of Kent, with Catalogues of the pictures contained in the mansion, and biographical notices of the principal persons whose portrait form part of the collection*, (Sevenoaks: James Payne, 1839), pp. 86-7.
98. Chair in the Great Hall, Cotehele, May 2011. Photo: G. Riddy. (Note: the shield on the chair is a modern National Trust label).
99. Footstool, South Chamber, Cotehele, May 2011. Photo: I. Riddy.
100. Bed in the Queen Anne Room, May 2011. Photo: I. Riddy.
101. Front cover of 'G.U.', *Haddon Hall in the Olden Time and a Description of the Mansion in 1838*, (London: J. Williams, 1838).
102. 'In the NE Tower', from: S. Rayner, *The History and antiquities of Haddon Hall, illustrated by 32 highly finished drawings with an account of the hall in its present state*, (Derby: Robert Mosely, 1836).
103. 'Entrance to the Gallery', from: S. Rayner, *The History and antiquities of Haddon Hall, illustrated by 32 highly finished drawings with an account of the hall in its present state*, (Derby: Robert Mosely, 1836).
104. Joseph Nash, 'Haddon Hall Derbyshire: The Long Gallery', 1839, lithograph. Source: J. Nash, *The Mansions of England in the Olden Time*, ed by C. Holme, (London: The Studio, 1906), plate XL.
105. Joseph Nash, 'Haddon Hall Derbyshire: Great Hall', 1839, lithograph (coloured version). Source: J. Nash, *The Mansions of England in the Olden Time*, ed by C. Holme, (London: The Studio, 1906)
106. 'Dining Room', in S. Rayner, *The History and antiquities of Haddon Hall, illustrated by 32 highly finished drawings with an account of the hall in its present state*, (Derby: Robert Mosely, 1836).

- 107.** 'Bedroom', in S. Rayner, *The History and antiquities of Haddon Hall, illustrated by 32 highly finished drawings with an account of the hall in its present state*, (Derby: Robert Mosely, 1836).
- 108.** 'Kitchen', in S. Rayner, *The History and antiquities of Haddon Hall, illustrated by 32 highly finished drawings with an account of the hall in its present state*, (Derby: Robert Mosely, 1836).
- 109.** 'Dorothy Vernon's Stairway', in S. Rayner, *The History and antiquities of Haddon Hall, illustrated by 32 highly finished drawings with an account of the hall in its present state*, (Derby: Robert Mosely, 1836).
- 110.** J.R. Thompson, 'Cotele House', in J. Britton & E. Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol 2. (London: Vernor & Hood, 1801), pp. 364-365.
- 111.** 'West Tower, Cotehele House', in: F.W.L Stockdale, *Excursions in the County of Cornwall, Comprising a Concise Historical and Topographical Delineation of the Principal Towns and Villages etc.* (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1824), p. 128.
- 112.** 'West Tower, Cotehele House', J. Britton, *Cornwall Illustrated in a Series of Views of Castles, Seats of the Nobility, Mines, Picturesque Scenery, Towns, Public Buildings, Churches, Antiquities & c.*, (London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1831), pp 16-17.

Illustrations for chapter 4 the Deepdene: the guidebook and the picturesque

- 113.** Sir William Beechey, *Thomas Hope*, 1798, oil on canvas, 2216 mm x 1689 mm, courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, London, at: <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw03241/Thomas-Hope> [accessed 04.09.2013].
- 114.** A. Dubost, *Hunt and Hope: An Appeal to the Public against the Calumnies of the Editor of the Examiner*, (London, 1810).
- 115.** Penry Williams, *The Circular Conservatory*, watercolour, 9.25 x 7 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.
- 116.** Penry Williams, *Theatre of the Arts*, watercolour. 8.25 X 7in, courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.
- 117.** Penry Williams, *Statue Gallery*, watercolour, 9.125 X 7 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.
- 118.** Penry Williams, *Boudoir*, watercolour, 10.875 X 7.5 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.
- 119.** Penry Williams, *Library Chimney-piece*, watercolour. 10.875 X 7.5in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.
- 120.** 'Plan of the Deepdene', J. Britton, *A historical and descriptive account by John Britton of The Deepdene*, S2589 S.R., Minet Library, Lambeth, London.
- 121.** William Henry Bartlett, *Entrance Court, Looking towards the Tower*, 7.625 X 4.75 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.

122. John B. Papworth, *A Villa*, plate XVII, in J. B. Papworth, 'Rural Residences consisting of a Series of Designs for Cottages, Decorated Cottages, Small Villas and Other Ornamental Buildings, Accompanied by Hints on Situation, Construction, arrangement and Decoration, in the Theory and Practice of Rural Architecture, Interspersed with Some Observations on Landscape Gardening', (London: R. Ackermann, 1818), p. 67-68.
123. William Henry Bartlett, *Theatre of the Arts, Conservatory and Gothic Wing*, watercolour, 13.875 X 8.125 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.
124. William Henry Barlett, *Roof Parapet*, watercolour, VOS/96, RIBA 12861, courtesy of Royal Institute of British Architects.
125. Thomas Hope, *View of Naxos island seen through the monumental doorway of the Archaic temple*, inscribed: *Doorway of the unfinished Temple on the Rock at Paros*, c. 1787-95, pen and watercolour on paper, 44 X 29 cm., courtesy of the Benaki Museum, Athens, IE 27375.
126. Penry Williams, *View from the Long Conservatory*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 9.375 X 6.875 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.
127. William Henry Bartlett, *The Terrace Before the Drawing Room*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 11.375 X 7.75 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.
128. Salvator Rosa, *River Landscape with Apollo and the Cumaean Sibyll*, 1657-8, oil on canvas, 173.7 x 259.5 cm Wallace Collection, London.
129. Jacob van Ruisdael, *A Landscape with Bridge, Cattle and Figures*, c. 1660, 95.6 x 129.7 cm, oil on canvas, Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.
130. William Henry Bartlett, *View of Deepdene*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 372.9 X 236.4 cm, RIBA 95181, courtesy of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
131. William Henry Bartlett, *View of Deepdene across countryside*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 362.6 X 243.2 cm, RIBA 95183, courtesy of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
132. William Henry Bartlett, *The House from the Drying Grounds*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 13 X 9.5 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.
133. William Marlow, *View Near Naples*, date unknown (between 1768-1810), oil on canvas, 73.0 X 98.4 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
134. William Henry Bartlett, *Deepdene Approach Entrance*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 360 X 214.8 cm, RIBA 4135, courtesy of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
135. William Henry Bartlett, *Deepdene Entrance*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 375 X 235.4 cm, RIBA 95180, courtesy of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
136. J.P. Neale, 'The Deepdene Entrance Front', in *Views of Seats of Noblemen and gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, , series 2, vol. 3, (London: Sherwood Jones & Co., 1826), p. 1.
137. William Henry Bartlett, *Holm Wood and Distant Country from the Terrace*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 13.5 X 9.375., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.

- 138.** View in the grounds of the Deepdene, Dorking, Photo: Paula Riddy, 5 August, 2013
- 139.** William Henry Bartlett, *Theatre of the Arts, Conservatory and Gothic Wing*, watercolour, 13.875 X 8.125 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.
- 140.** J.P. Neale, 'The Deepdene South front', in *Views of Seats of Noblemen and gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, , series 2, vol. 3, plate II (London: Sherwood Jones & Co., 1826), pp. 6-7.
- 141.** William Henry Bartlett, Conservatory, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 360 X 249.7 cm, RIBA 10841, courtesy of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
- 142.** J.P. Neale, 'The Deepdene Northwest Front', in *Views of Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, , series 2, vol. 3, plate I, (London: Sherwood Jones & Co., 1826), pp. 4-5.
- 143.** G.F. Prosser, 'Northwest front, the Deepdene', in *Surrey Seats*, (London: C. & J. Rivington, 1828).
- 144.** E.W.Brayley et al. *A Topographical History of Surrey*, (London: G.Willis, 1850).
- 145.** E.W.Brayley et al. *A Topographical History of Surrey*, (London: G.Willis, 1850).

Illustrations for chapter 5 Grove Hill: 'This Terrestrial Paradise Designed': the country house description as a statement of personal identity

- 146.** James Edwards, 'Map of London' (detail), in J. Edwards, *From London to Brighthelmstone*, (London, 1801).
- 147.** J. Edwards, *Plan of Grove Hill*, 1793, in J.C. Lettsom, 'Grove Hill: An Horticultural Sketch', (London: 1794), p.1.
- 148.** Samuel George, *A South View of a Villa at Camberwell, Surry belonging to John Coakley Lettsom*, in J.C. Lettsom, 'Grove Hill: An Horticultural Sketch', (London: 1794), pp. 2-3.
- 149.** Johann, Zoffany (?), *The Lettsom Family*, c. 1783 or 1792, oil on canvas, 71 X 90.6cm, The Wellcome Trust, London.
- 150.** John Zoffany, *The Drummond Family*, c. 1769, 104.1 X 160cm, Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.
- 151.** T. Prattend, 'Garden View of Dr. Lettsom's House' (published image was monochrome) from 'Some Account of Grove Hill, near Camberwell, with an engraving of Dr Lettsom's House to Garden', *European Magazine and London Review*, no. 13, May 1788, pp. 320-323.
- 152.** 'The View from the Turret', in T. Maurice, *Grove Hill a descriptive poem, with an ode to Mithra, by the author of Indian Antiquities*, (London: John and Arthur Arch and J Wright, 1799), pp. 16-17.

153. 'The Apiary', in T. Maurice, *Grove Hill a descriptive poem, with an ode to Mithra, by the author of Indian Antiquities*, (London: John and Arthur Arch and J Wright, 1799), pp. 30-31.
154. 'A North View of a Villa at Grove Hill, Camberwell, Surry, belonging to J.C. Lettsom M.D.', in J.C. Lettsom, *Grove Hill: An Horticultural Sketch*, (London: 1794), pp. 10-11.
155. *Flora*, relief in coade stone, 86 Camberwell Road, formerly at Grove Hill, Photograph G. Riddy (January 2013).
156. *Liberality*, relief in coade stone, 86 Camberwell Road, formerly at Grove Hill, Photograph G. Riddy (January 2013).
157. *Plenty*, relief in coade stone, 86 Camberwell Road, formerly at Grove Hill, Photograph G. Riddy (January 2013).
158. E. Edwards, 'The Temple at Grove Hill', in J.C. Lettsom, *Grove-Hill: A Rural and Horticultural Sketch*, (London: Printed by Stephen Couchman, 1804), pp. 8-9.
159. 'Address to the Deity', in T. Maurice, *Grove Hill a descriptive poem, with an ode to Mithra, by the author of Indian Antiquities*, (London: John and Arthur Arch and J. Wright, 1799), p. 1.
160. 'The Library', in T. Maurice, *Grove Hill a descriptive poem, with an ode to Mithra, by the author of Indian Antiquities*, (London: John and Arthur Arch and J Wright, 1799), pp. 10-11.
161. 'The Museum' in T. Maurice, *Grove Hill a descriptive poem, with an ode to Mithra, by the author of Indian Antiquities*, (London: John and Arthur Arch and J Wright, 1799), pp. 12-13.
162. 'Portland Museum', in K. Sloan, (ed.) *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), p. 87.
163. 'The Telegraph', in T. Maurice, *Grove Hill a descriptive poem, with an ode to Mithra, by the author of Indian Antiquities*, (London: John and Arthur Arch and J. Wright, 1799), pp. 18-19.

Illustrations for chapter 1: The Country House Guidebook 1720-1845



Figure 1: A selection of country house guidebooks, from top to bottom: Maurice, Thomas, *Grove Hill, a descriptive Poem, with an Ode to Mithra By the Author of "Indian Antiquities" Engravings by J Anderson, from Drawings by G Samuel*, (London: 1799); J. Kennedy, *A new description of the Pictures and other Curiosities at the Earl of Pembroke's House at Wilton, etc*, (London: R. Baldwin, 1764); Gage, John, *The history and antiquities of Hengrave, in Suffolk*, (London: J Carpenter, J Booker; Bury St Edmunds: J. Deck, 1822) & P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, History of Hatfield House and Hardwicke Hall, illustrated by plans, elevations and internal views from actual measurement*, 3 vols bound together, (London: James Carpenter and Son, 1833-5).

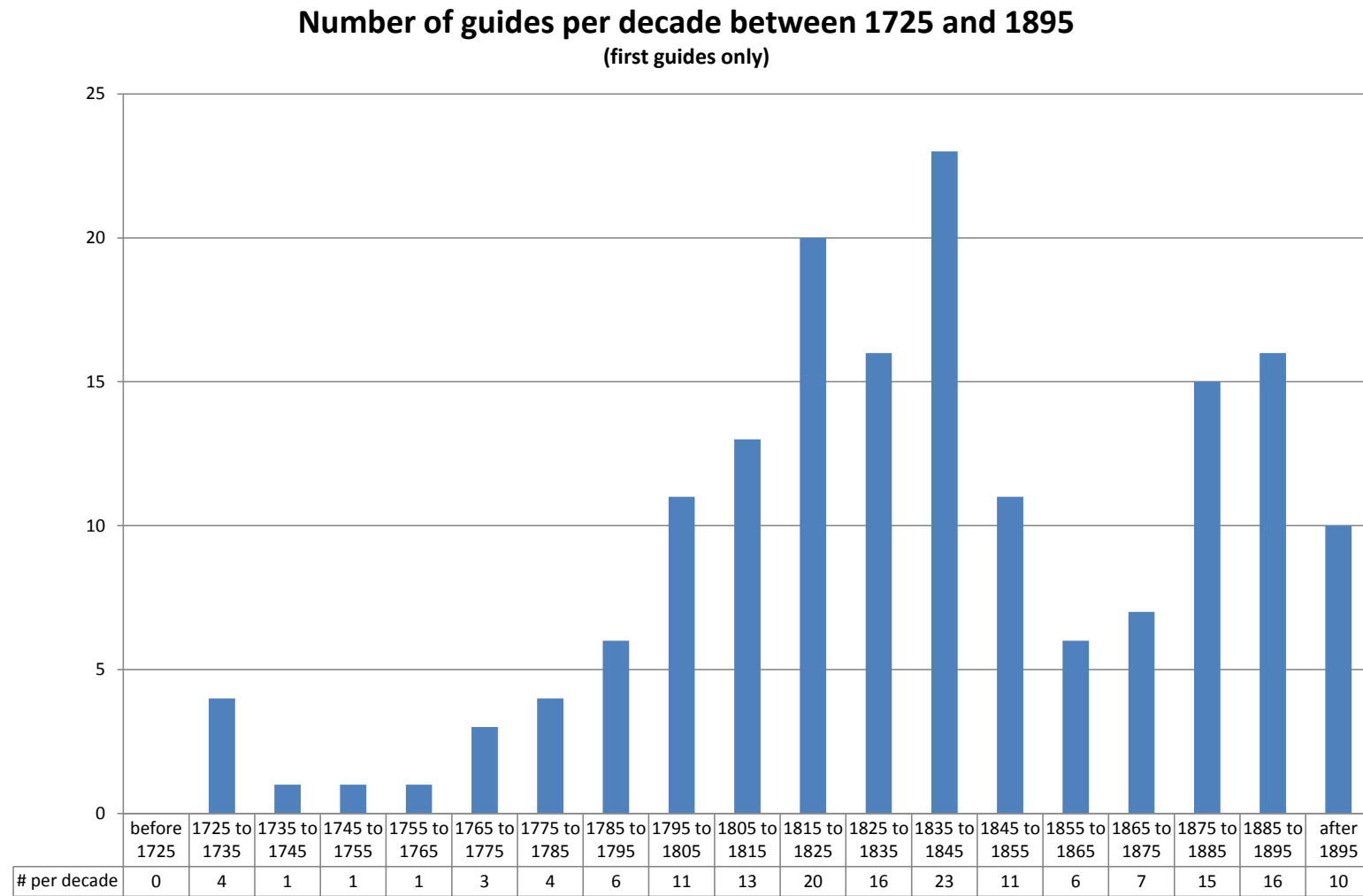


Figure 2: Number of houses with a guidebook for the first time per decade

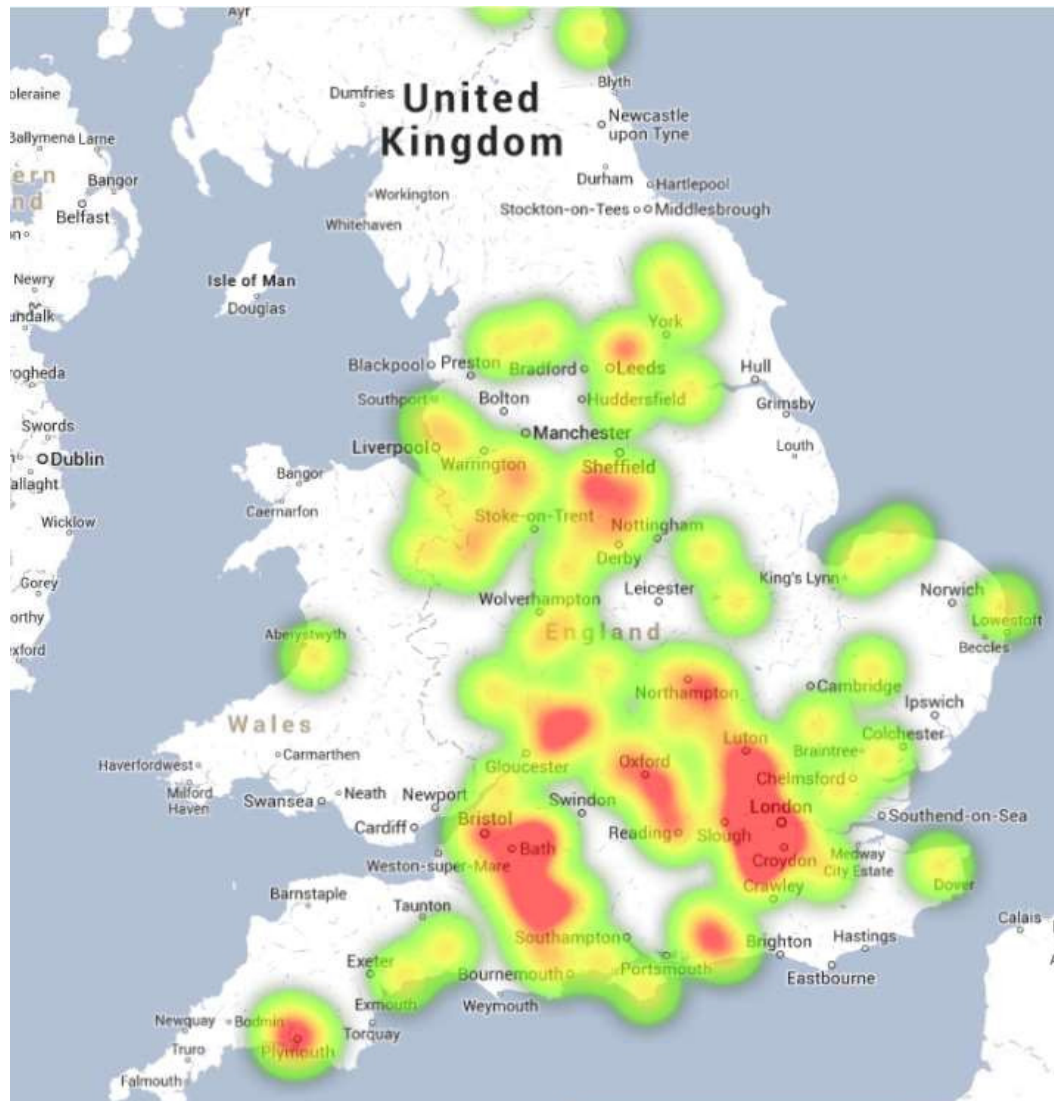


Figure 3: A ‘heat map’, showing the density of country house guidebooks during the period 1720-1845.

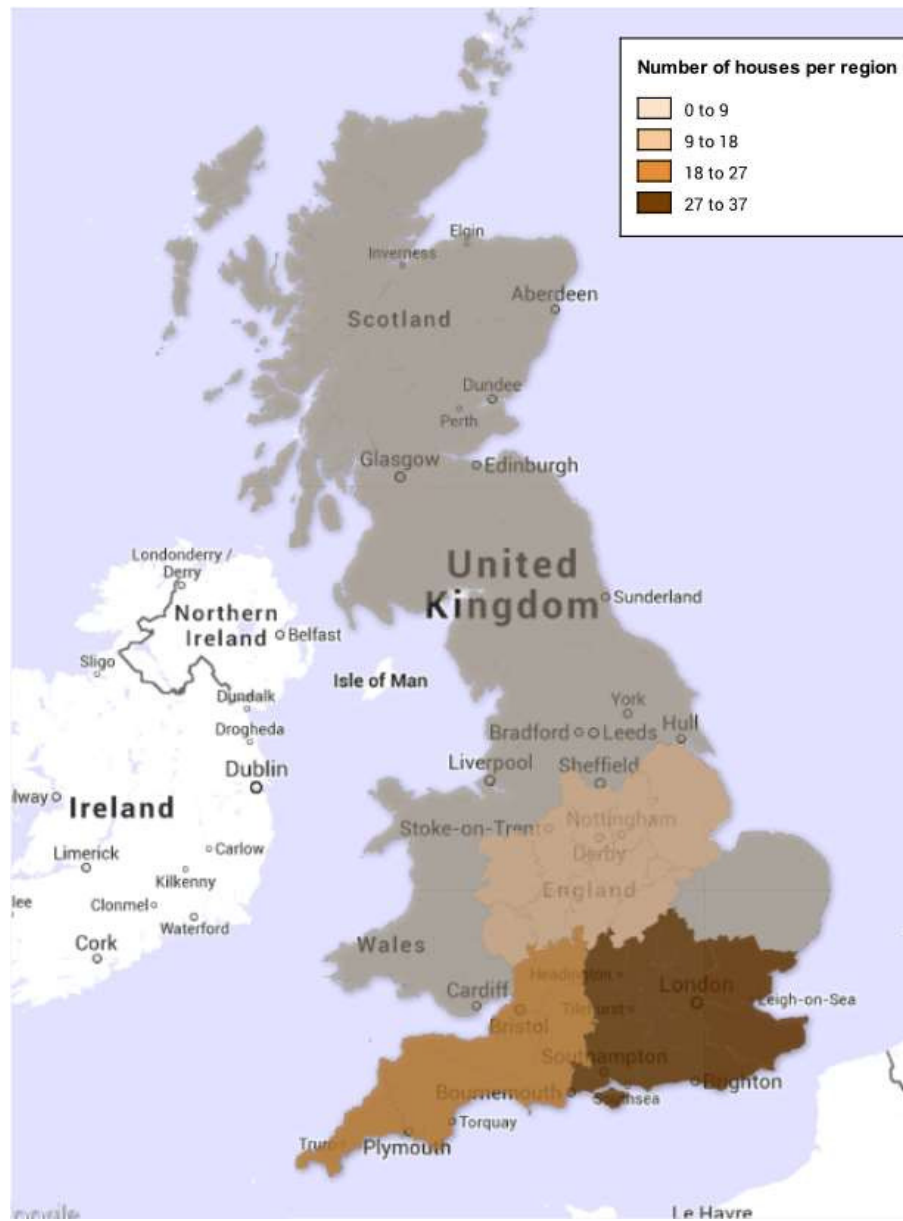


Figure 4: Map showing the density of country house guidebooks 1720-1845.

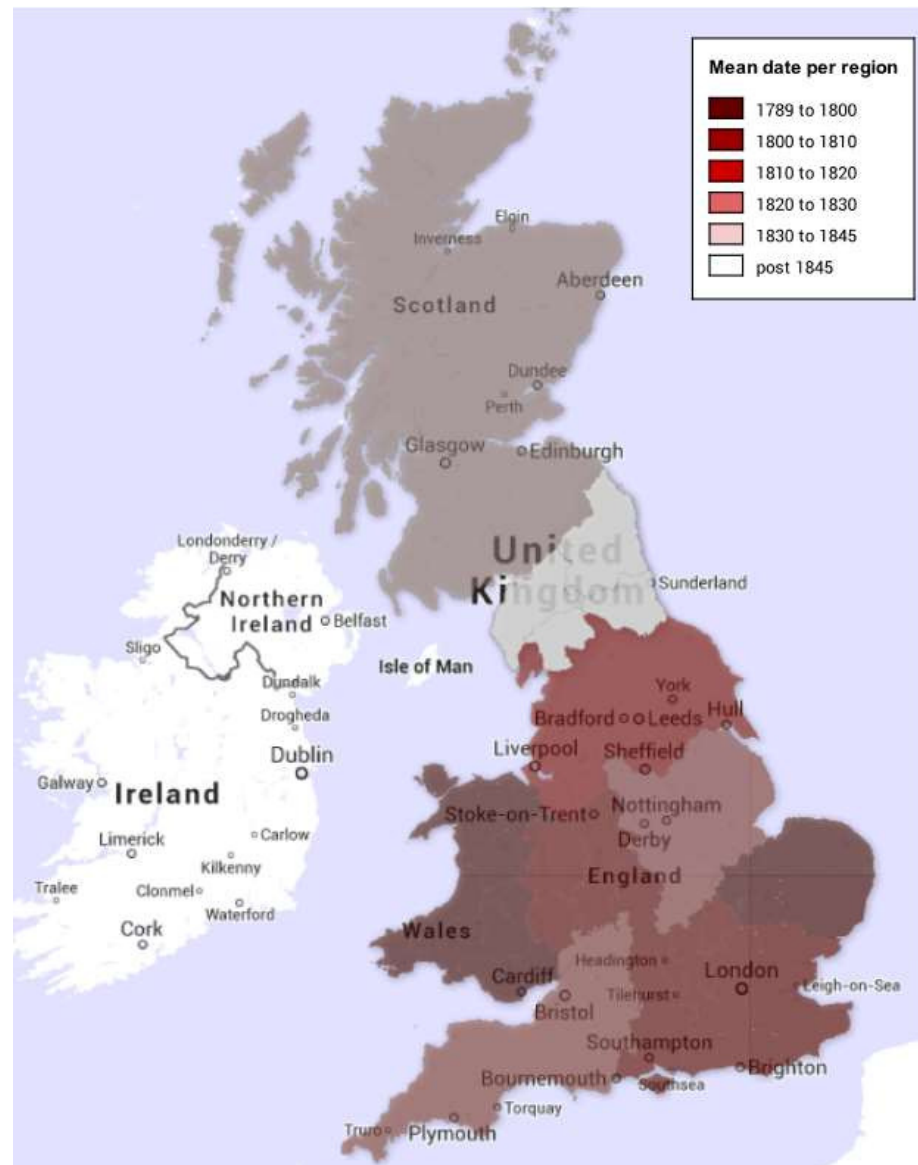


Figure 5: Map showing the mean date of acquisition of country house guidebooks by region.

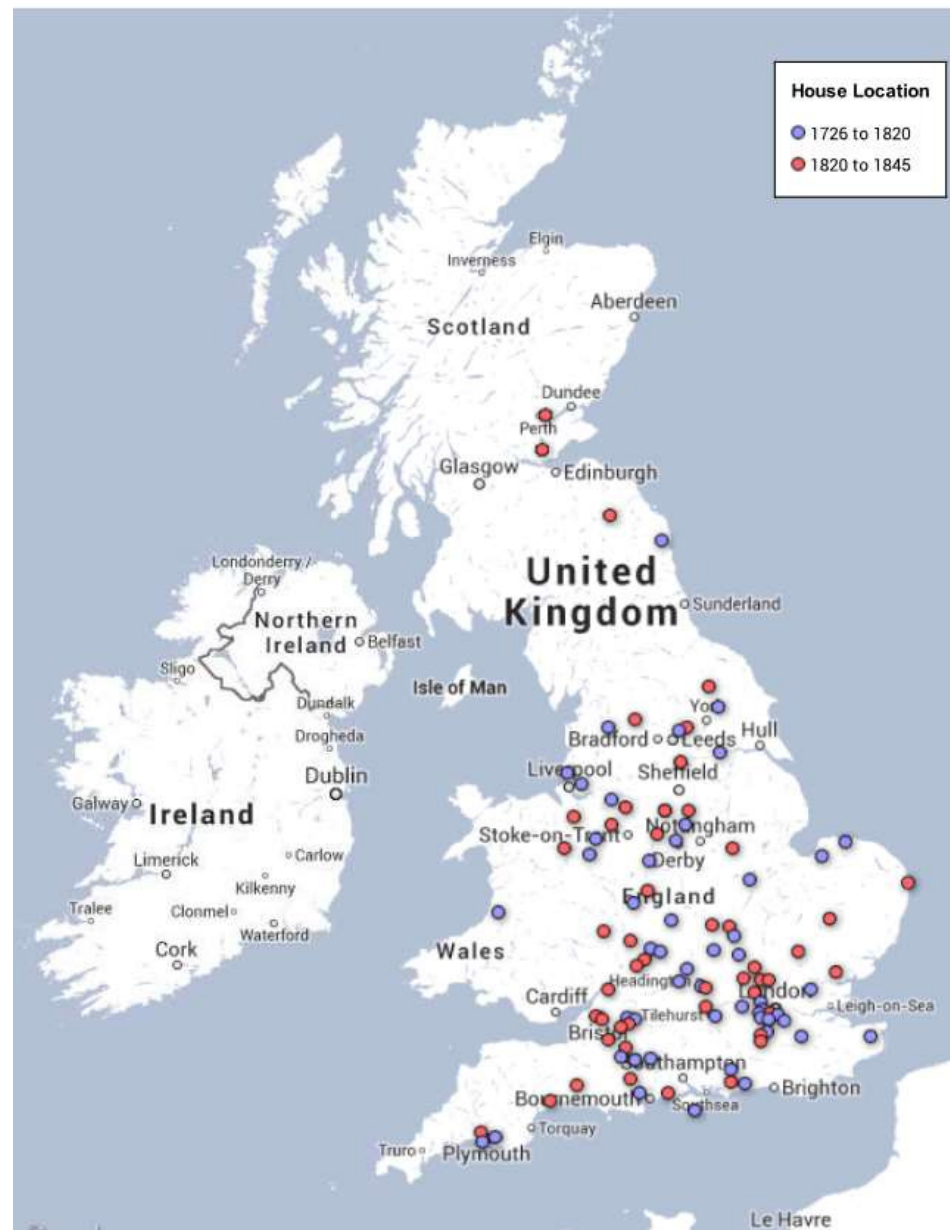


Figure 6: Map showing the location of each property in the study.



Figure 7: ‘Brislington House’, in: F.C. Fox, *History and present state of Brislington House near Bristol, an asylum for the cure and reception of insane persons, established by Edward Long Fox MD AD1804 and now conducted by Francis Charles Fox MDD*, (Bristol: Light & Ridler, 1836), pp. 4-5.



Figure 8: T. Hearne, from a Sketch by the Revd. Mr. Gooch, ‘Corsham House in Wiltshire’, in W. Watts, *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry, In a Collection of the Most Interesting and Picturesque Views engraved by W. Watts*, (London: W. Watts, 1779), Plate XXXII.



Figure 9: H. Repton, 'Corsham House', in J. Britton, *Beauties of Wiltshire*, Vol. II, (London: Verner & Hood, 1801), pp. 280-1.

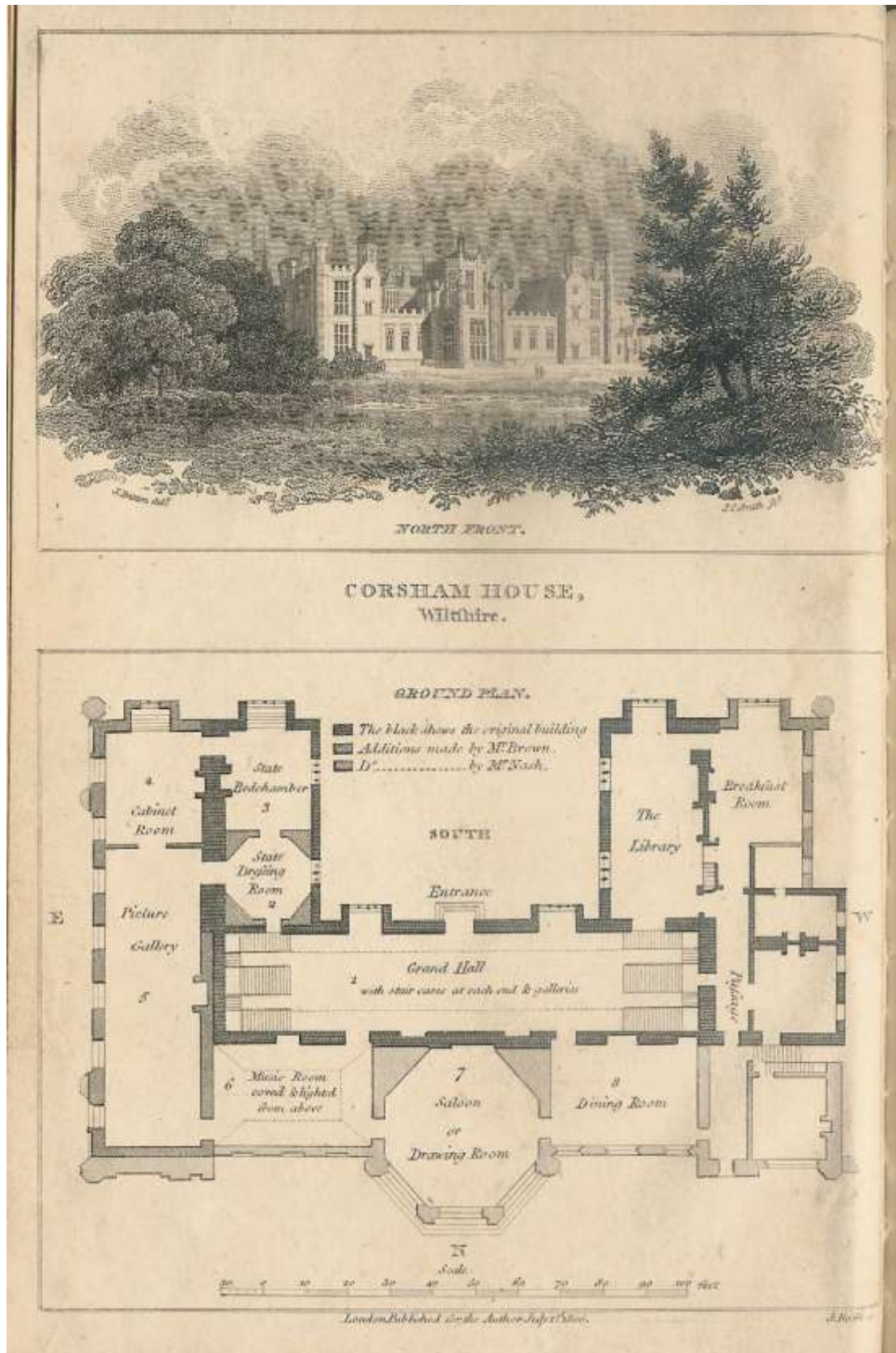


Figure 10: Corsham House with North front view and ground plan, from: Britton, John, *An Historical Account of Corsham House in Wiltshire, the seat of Paul Cobb Methuen, Esq With a catalogue of his celebrated collection of pictures, etc*, (London: Printed for the Author; Bath: Joseph Barrett, 1806), frontispiece.



Figure 11: J.P. Neale, 'The Hall, Corsham House, Wiltshire', in J.P. Neale, *Views of Seats*, Series II, Vol. II (London: Sherwood Jones & Co.).



Figure 12: ‘View of the Portico of the Garden Pantheon’, in H. Blundell, *Engravings and Etchings of the Principal Statues, Busts, Bass-Reliefs, Sepulchral Monuments, Cinerary Urns &c in the collection of Henry Blundell Esq at Ince*, (Ince Blundell, 1809).

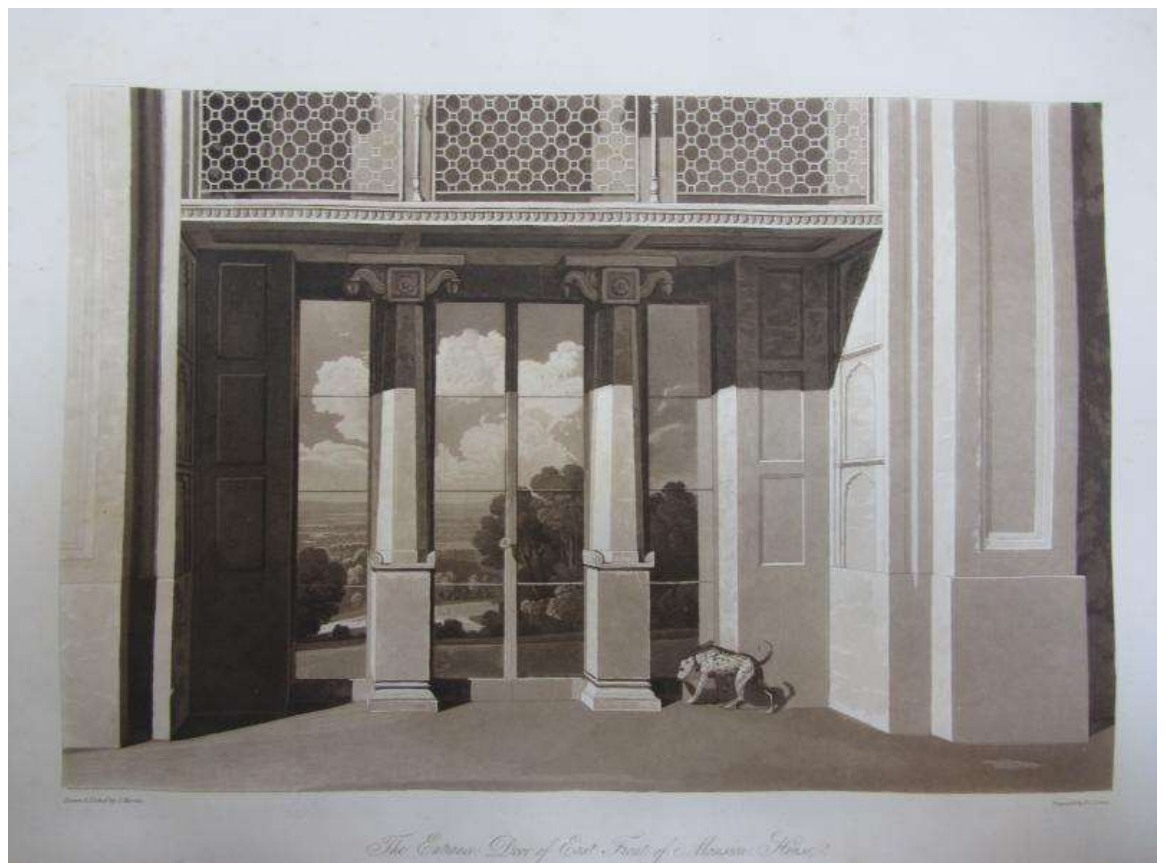


Figure 13: ‘The Entrance Door of the East front of the House’, in J. Martin, *Views of Sezincote House*, (1818).

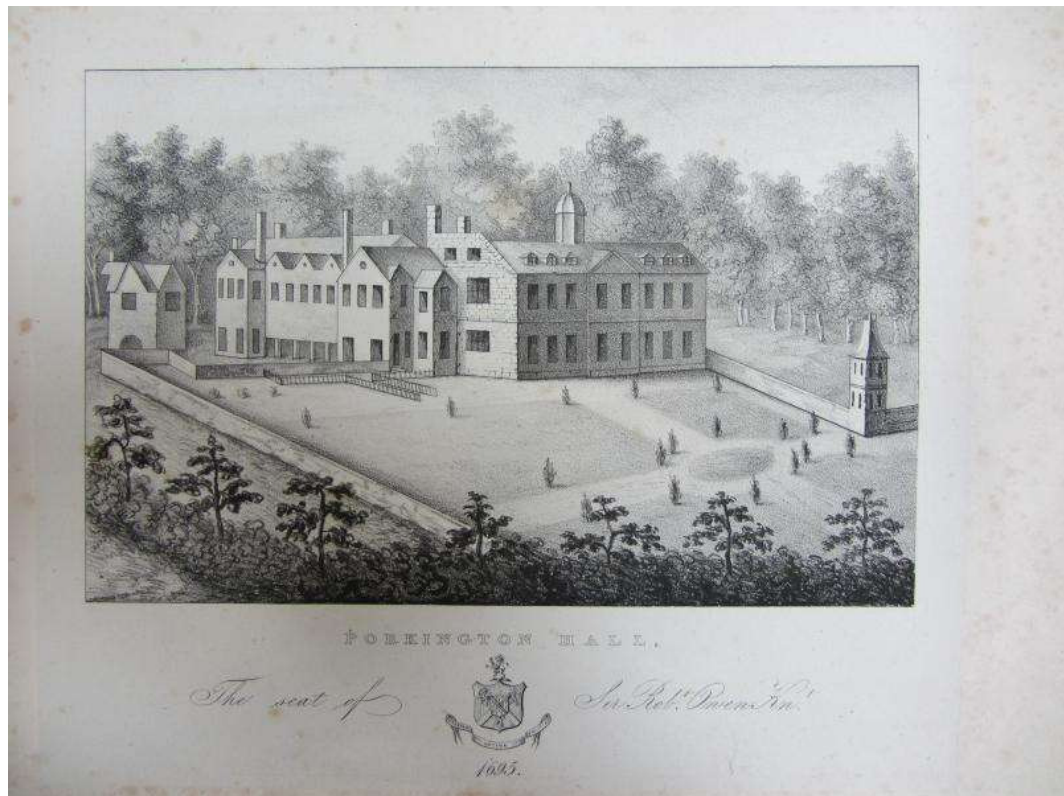


Figure 14: 'Porkington Hall in 1695', from: *Views of Porkington Hall Shropshire*, from original drawings, (1835).



Figure 15: 'Porkington Hall in 1817', from: *Views of Porkington Hall Shropshire*, from original drawings, (1835).



Figure 16: ‘Porkington Hall’, J.P. Neale, *Views of Seats*, Vol. III, (London: Sherwood, Neale & Jones, 1820).



Figure 17: ‘Porkington Hall’, in: W. West, *Picturesque Views and Descriptions of Cities, Towns, Castles and Mansions and Other Objects of Interesting Features in Shropshire, from Original Drawing, taken expressly for this work by Mr. Frederick Calvert, with Historical and topographical Illustrations by William West*, (Birmingham: William Emans, 1831), p. 123 .



Figure 18: ‘Mount Edgcumbe, Devonshire’ in Britton, John & Brayley, John Wedlake, *Beauties of England and Wales: Devonshire and Dorsetshire*, Vol. IV, (London: Verner & Hood, 1803). N.B. Illustration curved slightly due to the constraints of fully opening an old book.



Figure 19: ‘The House from the Great Avenue’, in *Eight Views of Mount Edgcumbe*, (London: William Clarke, 1820).



Figure 20: 'Milton's Temple', in: *Eight Views of Mount Edgcumbe*, (London: William Clarke, 1820).



Figure 21: 'The Arch, with a View of Plymouth Sound', In: *Eight Views of Mount Edgcumbe*, (London: William Clarke, 1820).



Figure 22: T. Allom, 'Devonport, Dock-yard & the River Tamar, from Mount Edgcumbe', in Britton, J. & Brayley, E.W., *Devonshire Illustrated in a Series of Views of Cities, Towns, Public Buildings, Streets, Docks, Churches, Antiquities, Abbeys, Picturesque Scenery, Castles, Seats of the Nobility, & c. & c.* (London: Fisher & Sons, 1832), pp. 50-51.



Figure 23: T. Allom, 'Mount Edgcumbe, Devonshire in Britton, J. & Brayley, E.W., *Devonshire Illustrated in a Series of Views of Cities, Towns, Public Buildings, Streets, Docks, Churches, Antiquities, Abbeys, Picturesque Scenery, Castles, Seats of the Nobility, & c. & c.* (London: Fisher & Sons, 1832), pp. 36-37.



Figure 24: J.P. Neale, 'Blenheim: View in the Grounds, Shewing the Bridge, Column and Rosamond's Well, Oxfordshire', plate 4, in: J.P. Neale, *An Historical Description of Blenheim with Six Views*, (London: Sherwood, Jones & Co., 1823).



Figure 25: C.M. Metz, 'North View of Blenheim in Oxfordshire, Seat of the Duke of Marlborough', *Picturesque views of the Principal Seats of the Nobility and Gentry in England and Wales by the most Eminent British Artists*, (London: Harrison and Co, 1787).

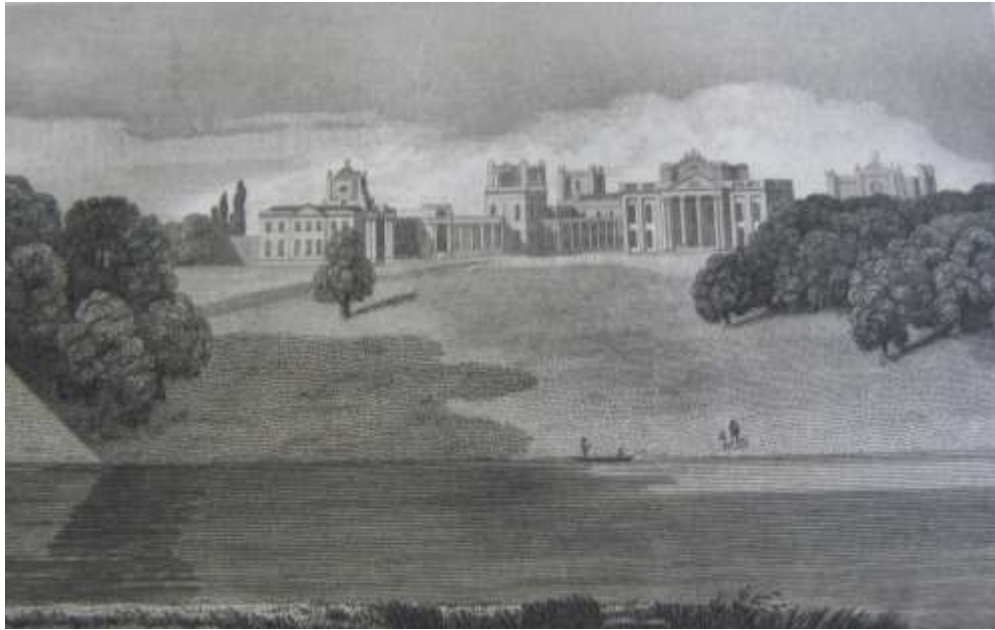


Figure 26: ‘Blenheim Castle’, in J.N. Brewer, *Beauties of England and Wales: Oxfordshire and Rutlandshire*, Vol. XII, part II, (London: J. Harris, 1813), pp. 394-395.



Figure 27: J.P. Neale, ‘Blenheim Castle: View Taken From Rosamond’s Well’, Plate 5 in: J.P. Neale, *Views of Seat*, Vol. 5, (London: Sherwood, Neale & Jones, 1822), pp. 16-17.

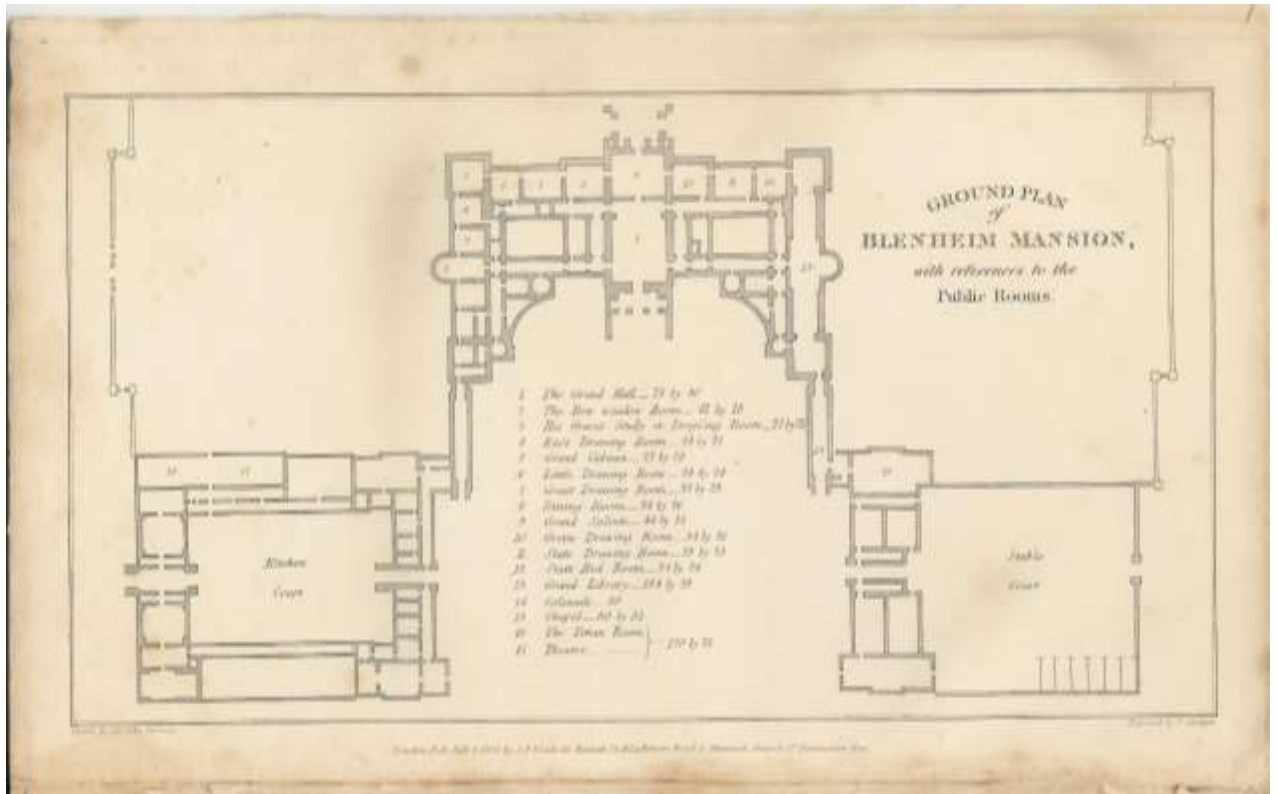


Figure 28: Sir John Vanbrugh, 'Ground Plan of Blenheim Mansion, with references to Public Rooms', in: J.P. Neale, *An Historical Description of Blenheim with Six Views*, (London: Sherwood, Jones & Co., 1823), p. 1.



Figure 29: A. Pugin, 'Keeper's Lodge, Cassiobury', in: J. Britton, *The History and Description, with Graphic Illustrations, of Cassiobury Park, Hertfordshire, the seat of the Earl of Essex*, (London, 1837), pp. 4-5.



Figure 30: J.P. Neale, 'Cashibury', from Neale's *Views of Seats*, Vol 1, (London: Sherwood, Neale and Jones), 1818.



Figure 31: Charles Radclyffe, *Views of Perry Barr Hall, the Seat of John Gough esq.*, (Birmingham: Wrightson & Webb, 1838).



Figure 32: Charles Radclyffe, *Views of Perry Barr Hall, the Seat of John Gough esq.*, (Birmingham: Wrightson & Webb, 1838).



Figure 33: J. Marchant, 'Interior of the Mausoleum', in Irvin Eller, *History of Belvoir Castle from the Norman Conquest to the nineteenth century: accompanied by a description of the present castle, and critical notes of the paintings, tapestry, statuary and c. with which it is enriched*, (1841).



Figure 34: John Throsby ‘Belvoir Castle, the Seat of his Grace the Duke of Rutland, In J. Throsby, *Select Views in Leicestershire from Original Drawings, containing Seats of the Nobility and Gentry, Town Views and Ruins, accompanied with Descriptive and historical Relations*, plate VIII, (Leicester: J. Throsby, 1789).



Figure 35: J. P. Neale, ‘Belvoir Castle’ in J.P. Neale, *Views of Seats*, Vol. 3, (London: Sherwood, Neale and Jones), 1819.



Figure 36: H. Hasler, 'Knowle Cottage, built by the R^t Hon^{ble} Lord Le Despenser', in Revd. Edmund Butcher, *Sidmouth Scenery or Views of the Principal Cottages and Residences of the Nobility and Gentry with a Description of that Admired Watering Place, and its Environs, within Fifteen Miles Around*, (Sidmouth: J. Wallis, 1816).



Figure 37: T. Fidler, 'Carriage Entrance to Knowle Cottage', in John Harvey, *Guide to illustrations and views of Knowle Cottage, Sidmouth : the elegant marine villa ornée of Thos. L. Fish, Esq.* (Sidmouth: J. Harvey, 1834).



Figure 38: T. 'Fidler, Knowle Cottage', in John Harvey, *Guide to illustrations and views of Knowle Cottage, Sidmouth: the elegant marine villa ornée of Thos. L. Fish, Esq.* (Sidmouth: J. Harvey, 1834).

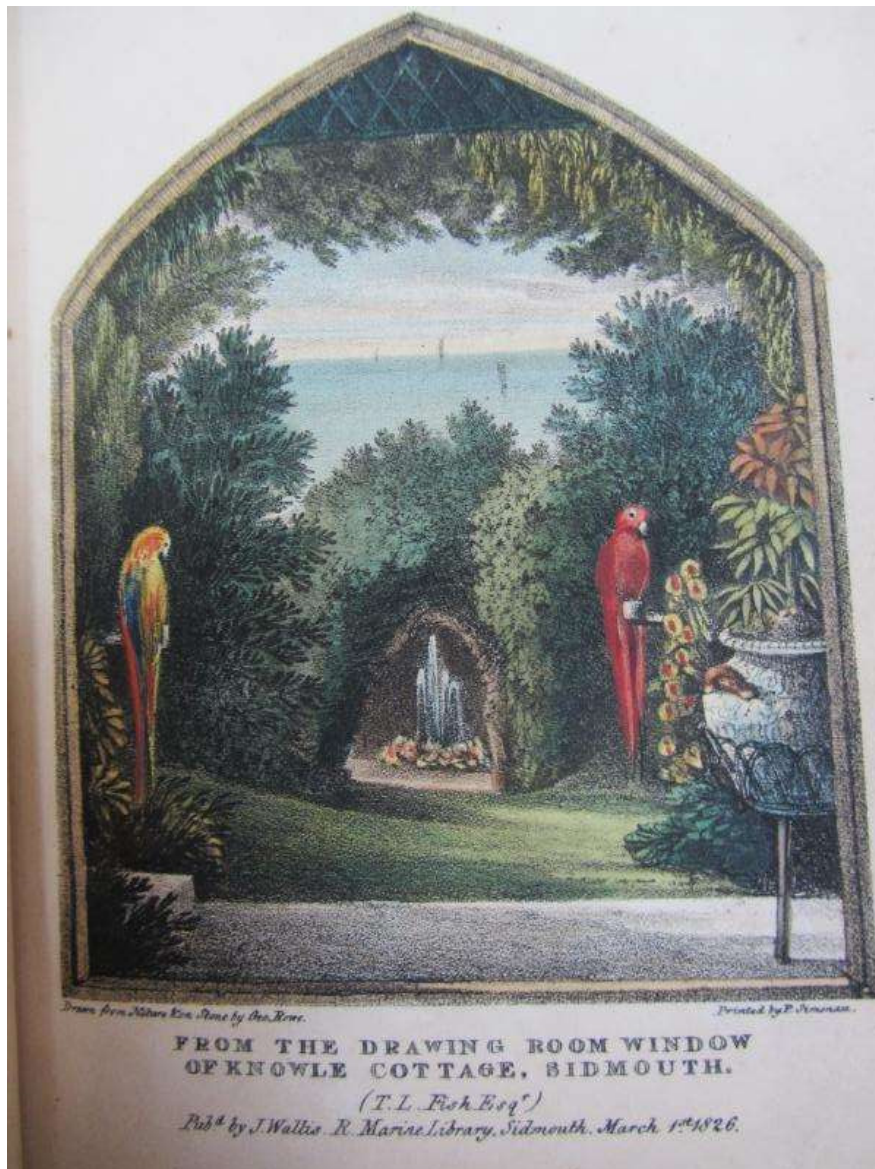


Figure 39: George Rowe, 'From the Drawing Room Window of Knowle Cottage, Sidmouth', in: John Harvey, *Guide to illustrations and views of Knowle Cottage, Sidmouth : the elegant marine villa ornée of Thos. L. Fish, Esq.* (Sidmouth: J. Harvey, 1834).



Figure 40: T. Fidler, 'View from the Drawing Room of Knowle Cottage', in: John Harvey, *Guide to illustrations and views of Knowle Cottage, Sidmouth : the elegant marine villa ornée of Thos. L. Fish, Esq.* (Sidmouth: J. Harvey, 1834).



Figure 41: ‘Audley House, commonly called Audley End’, in P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, Vol. II, (London, 1768).



Figure 42 W. Denn, ‘Audley End’, in W. Watts, *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry In a Collection of the most interesting and Picturesque Views engraved by W. Watts, from Drawings by the Most eminent Artists with a Description of each View*, (London: W. Watts, 1779).



Figure 43: J. P. Neale Audley End from Neale's Views of Seats, Vol. 1 (London: Neale & Sherwood, 1819).



Figure 44: Edward Blore, 'West View of Audley End', in Richard Griffin, Baron Braybrooke, *The History of Audley End; to which are appended notices of the town and parish of Saffron Walden, etc*, (London: S. Bentley, 1836).

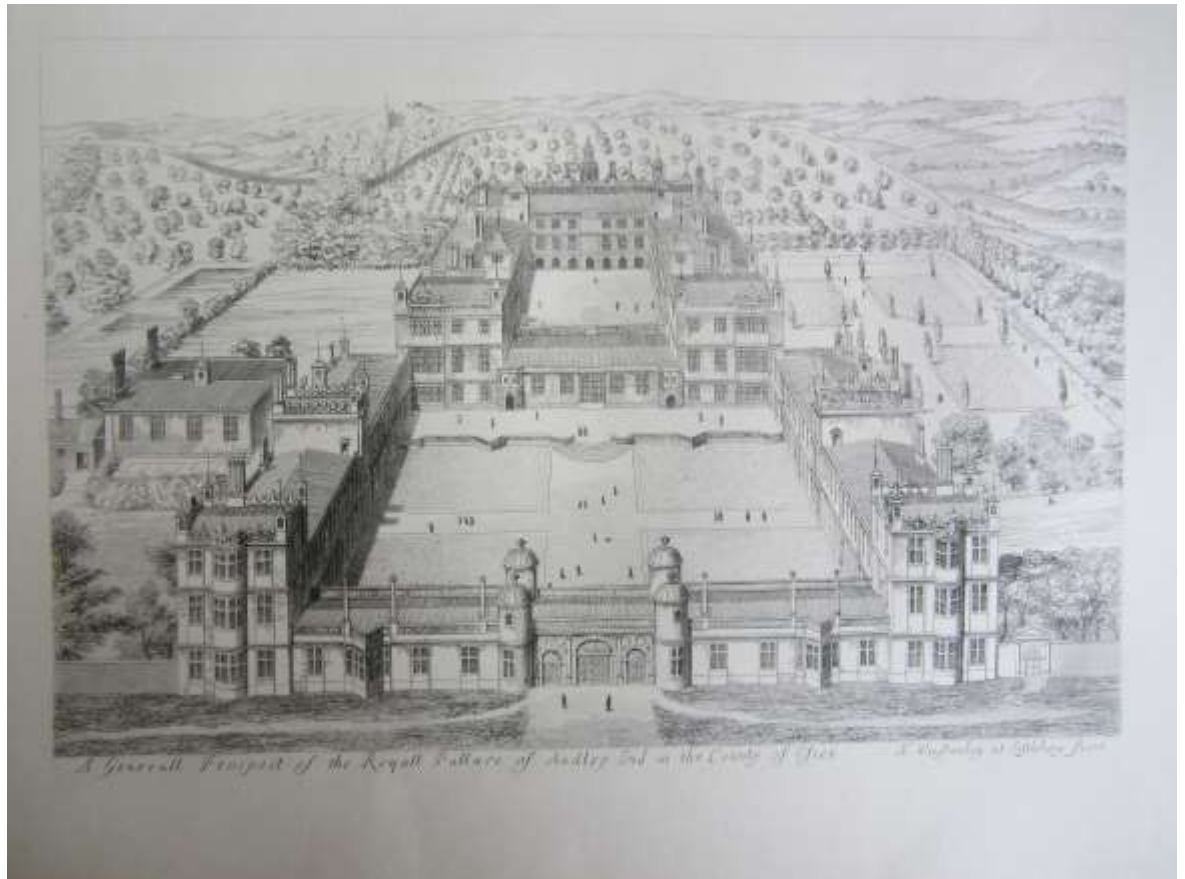


Figure 45: Henry Winstanley, 'A Generall Prospect of the Royall Pallace of Audley End in the County of Sussex', in Richard Griffin, Baron Braybrooke, *The History of Audley End; to which are appended notices of the town and parish of Saffron Walden, etc*, (London: S. Bentley, 1836).

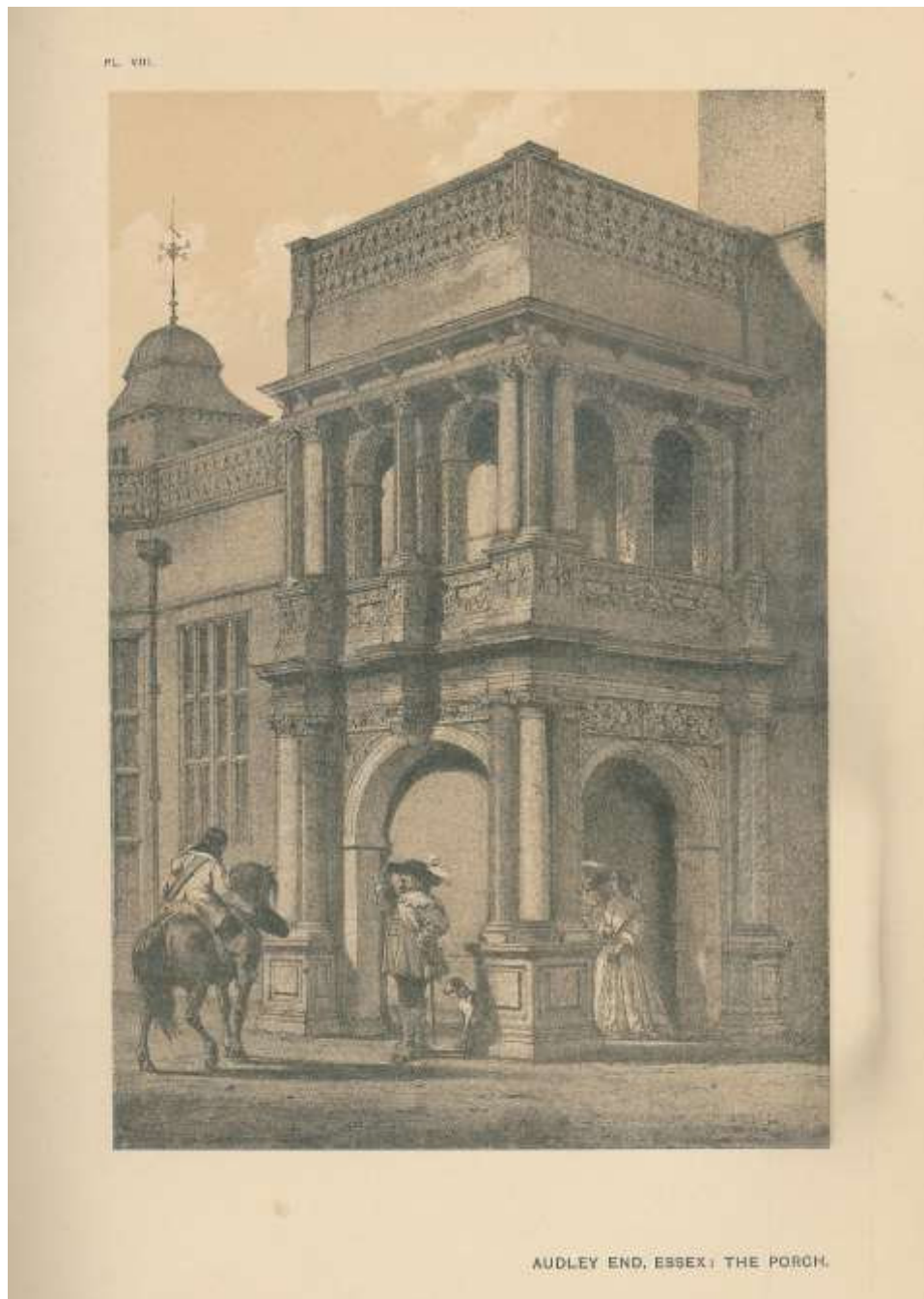


Figure 46: Joseph Nash, Audley End, Essex: The Porch, from J. Nash, *Mansions of England in the Olden Time*, plate VIII, (London: T. McLean, 1839).



Figure 47: C.J. Richardson, 'The Staircase at Audley End', in: C.J. Richardson, *Old English Mansions*, (London: Thomas McLean, 1842).



Figure 48: J.D. Harding, 'Audley End', in S. C. Hall, *Baronial Halls and Picturesque Edifices. From Drawings by J.D. Harding and other artists. Executed in Lithotint under the superintendence of Mr. Harding*, (London, 1846), pp. 6-7

Illustrations for Chapter 2 Woburn Abbey: A Grand Seat Represented



Figure 49: In descending order of size: P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (London: J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827) (in this copy bound with the *Vitruvius Britannicus* for Hatfield and Hardwick), *Outline Descriptions and Engravings of the Woburn Abbey Marbles* (London: W. Nichol, Shakspeare Press, 1822), J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (Woburn, 1831) & S.Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity; containing also a concise genealogy of the house of Russell, and memoirs of the Late Francis Duke of Bedford*, (Woburn: S.Dodd, 1818).

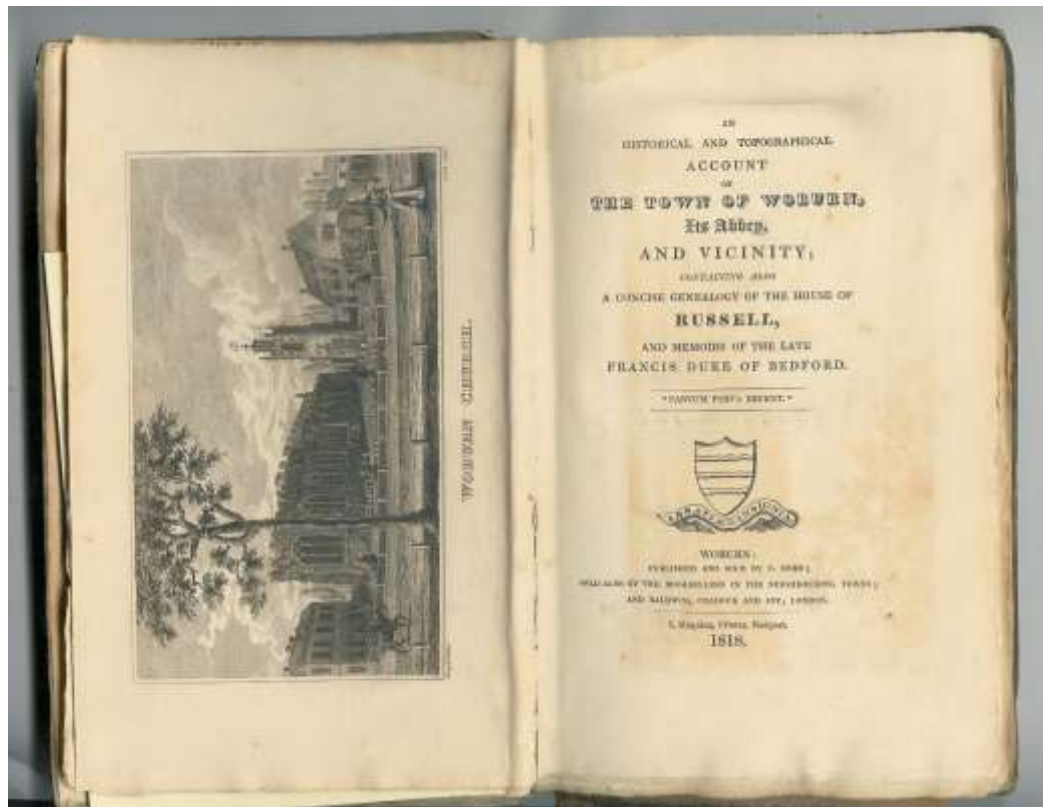


Figure 50: S.Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity; containing also a concise genealogy of the house of Russell, and memoirs of the Late Francis Duke of Bedford*, (Woburn: S.Dodd, 1818).

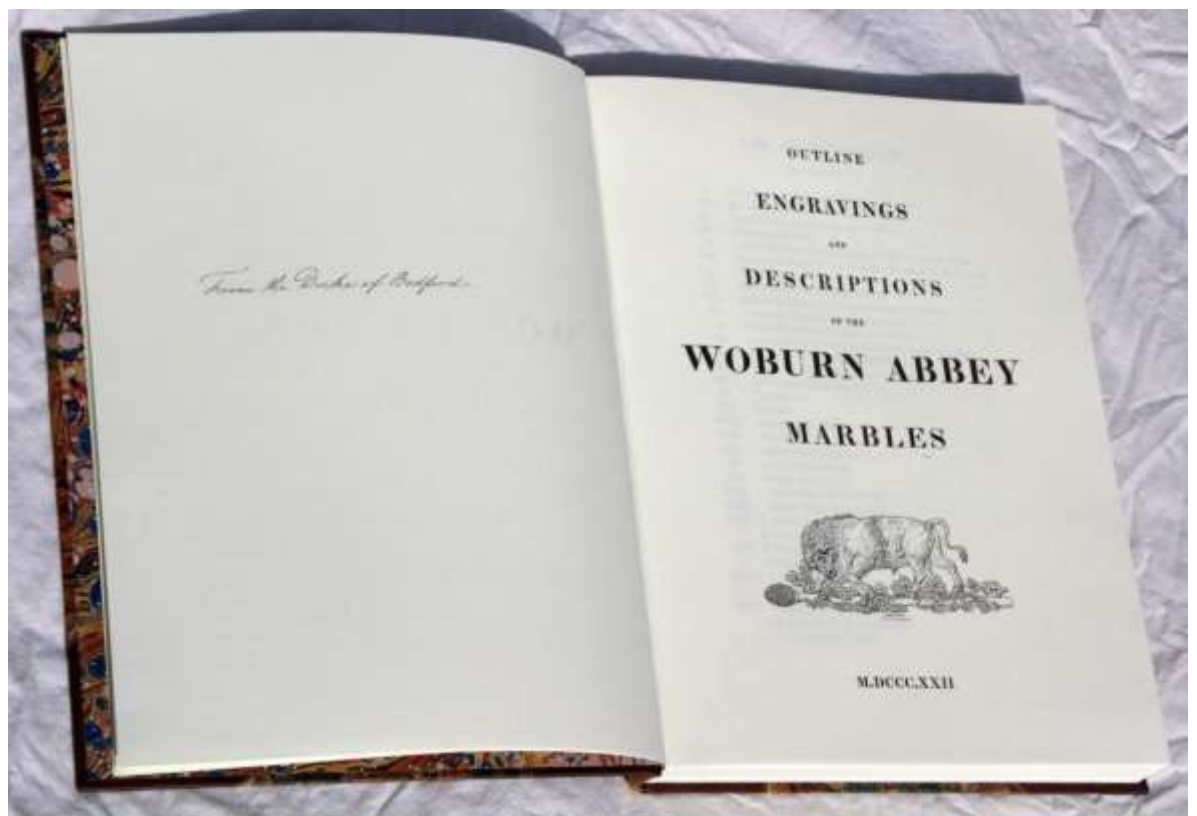


Figure 51: *Outline Descriptions and Engravings of the Woburn Abbey Marbles* (London: W. Nichol, Shakspeare Press, 1822), taken from a facsimile copy.

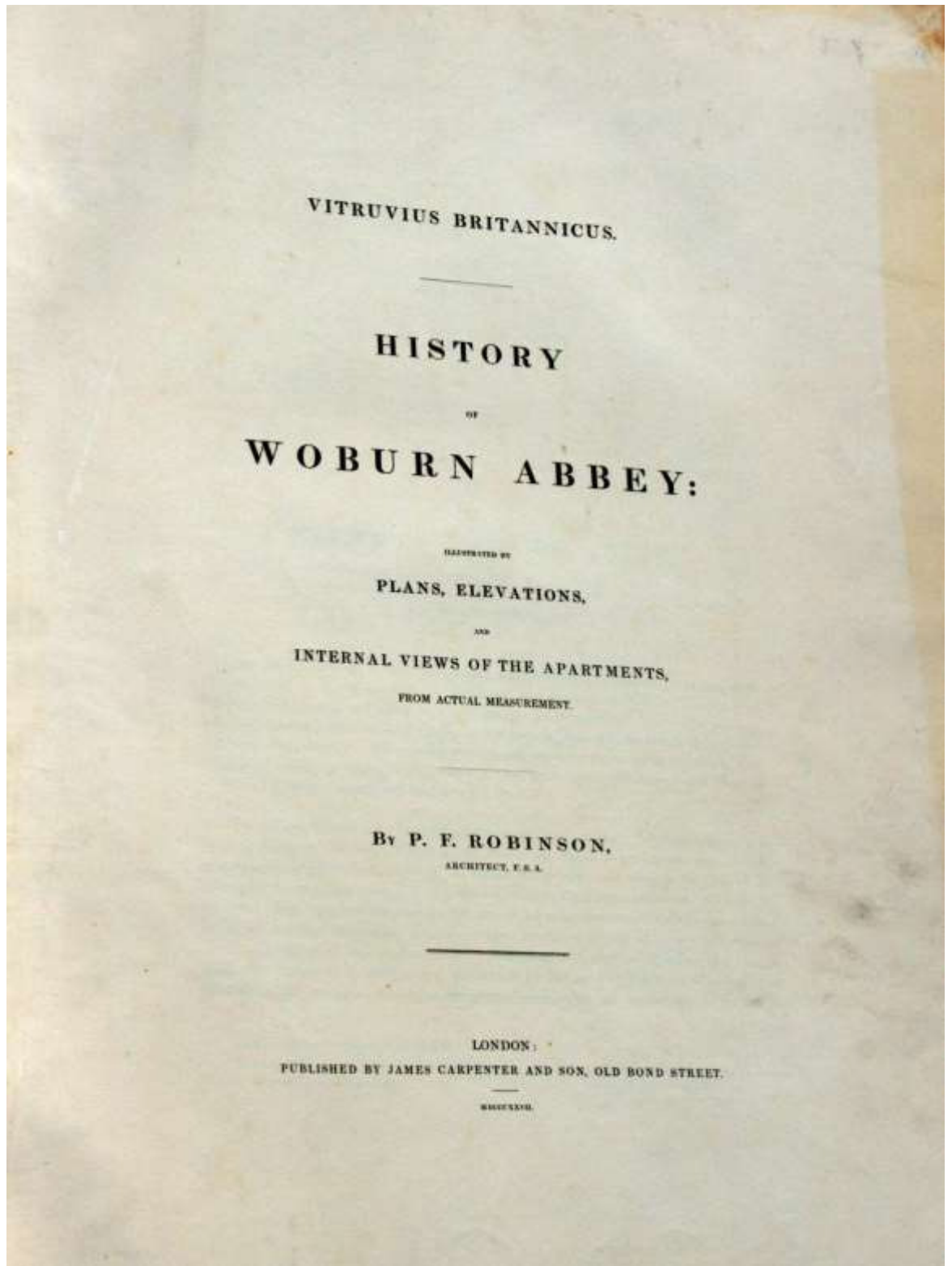


Figure 52: P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey*, illustrated by *Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (London: J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827).

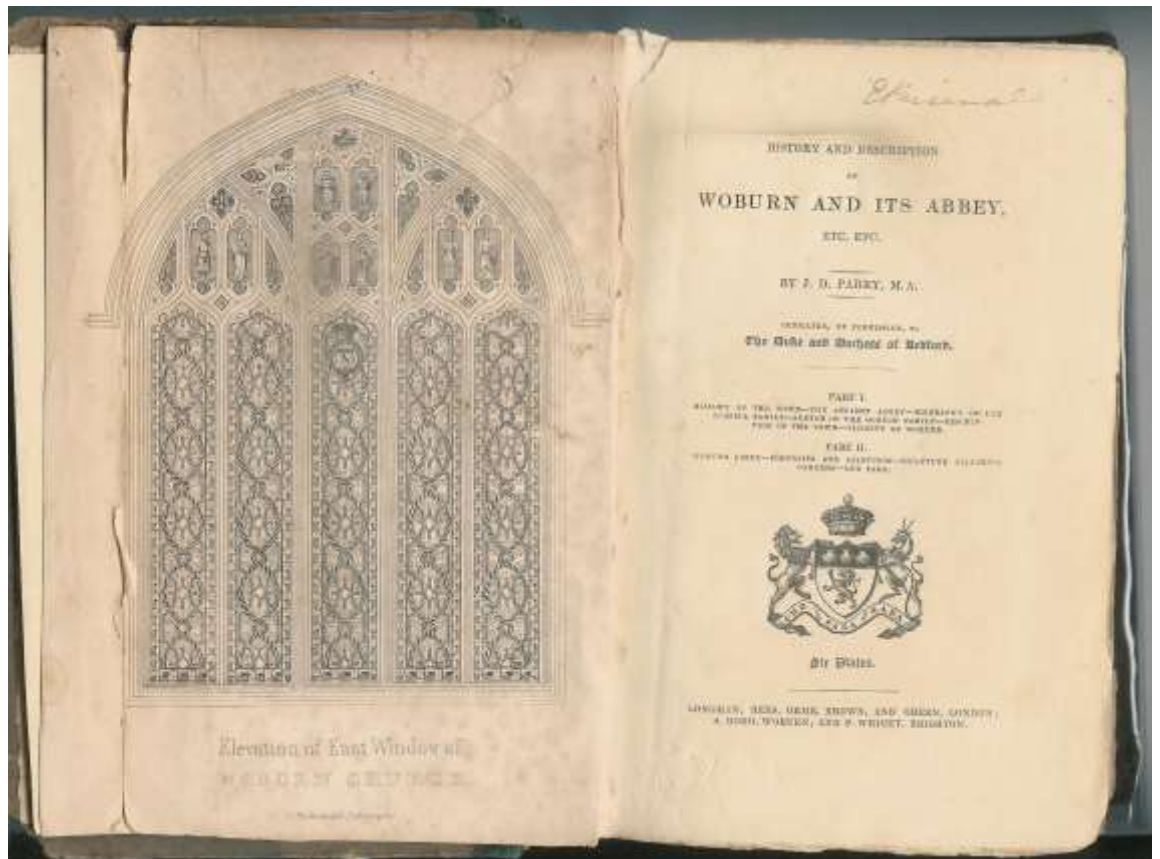


Figure 53: J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (Woburn, 1831).

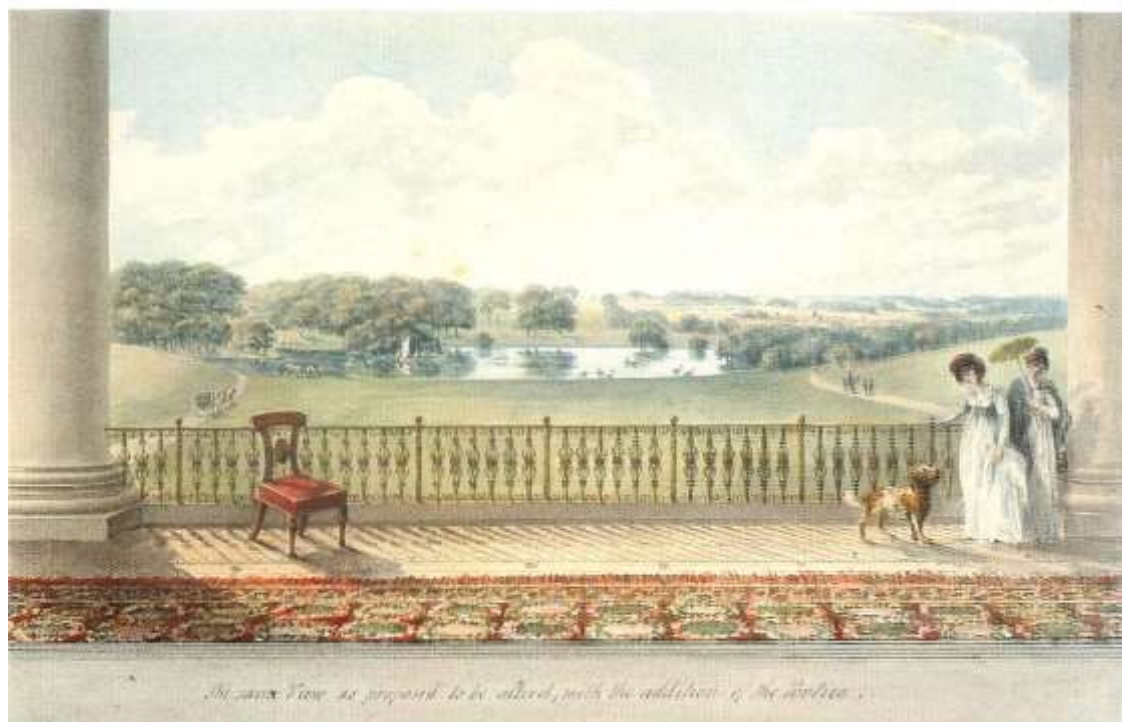


Figure 54: H. Repton, 'The present View to the Westward' and 'The same view with the additions in the portico', in *The Red Book: Woburn Abbey*, taken from S. Daniels, *Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 174 [1999].



Figure 55: 'The Library', in P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (London: J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827), no page number.



Figure 56: 'Market House and High Street Woburn', in J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (Woburn, 1831), pp. 142-143.



Figure 57: 'Woburn Church', in J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (Woburn, 1831), pp. 144-145.



Figure 58: 'West front and approach, Woburn Abbey', Photo: G. Riddy, (August, 2012).

Routes around Woburn Abbey from the three early 19th century guides

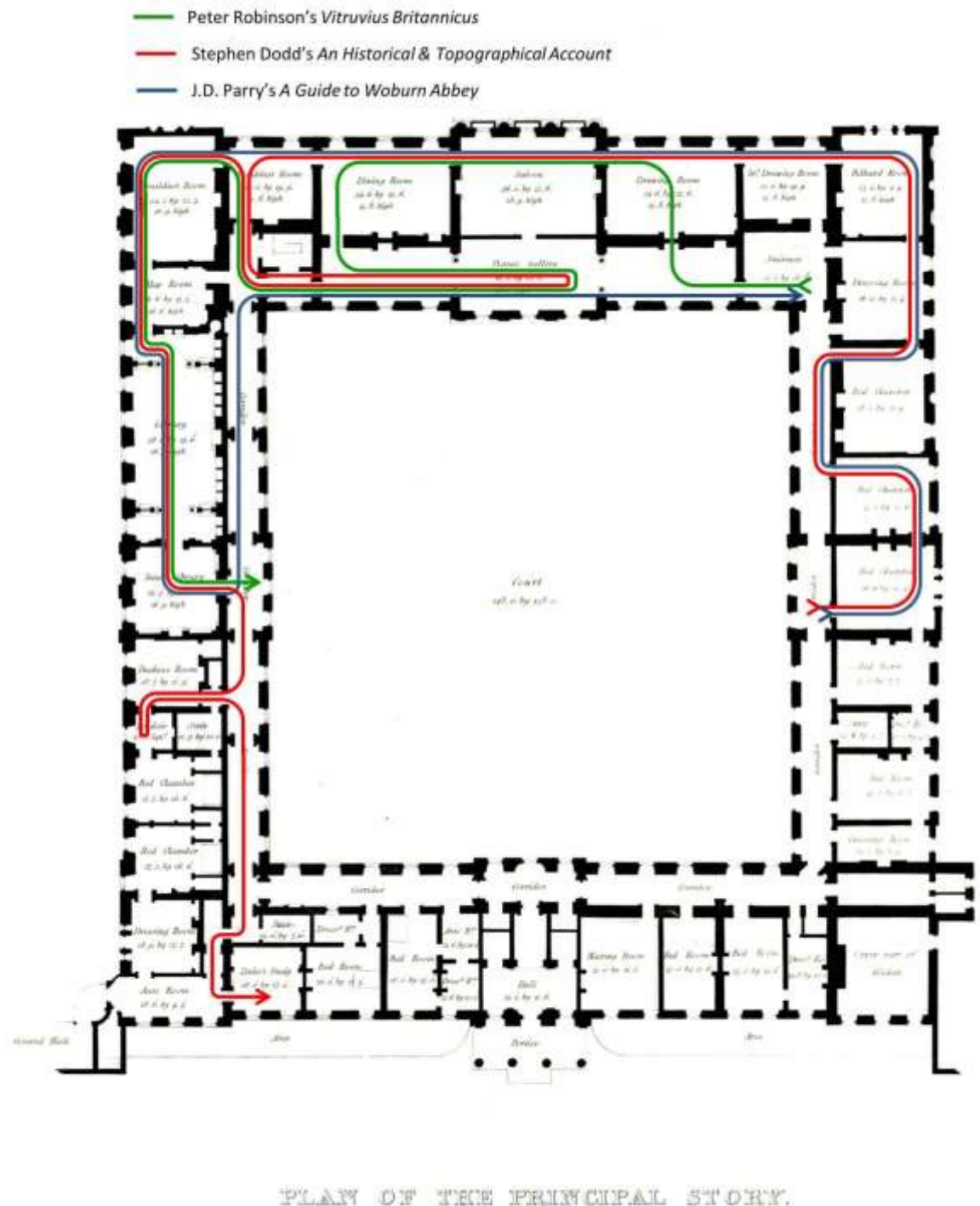


Figure 59: 'Plan of the Principal Story', from P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (London: J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827), no page number, with overlay of the three routes around the house by G. & P. Riddy [29.06.2013].



Figure 60: 'Woburn Abbey', in S.Dodd, *An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, Its Abbey and Vicinity; containing also a concise genealogy of the house of Russell, and memoirs of the Late Francis Duke of Bedford*, (Woburn: S.Dodd, 1818), pp. 44-45.

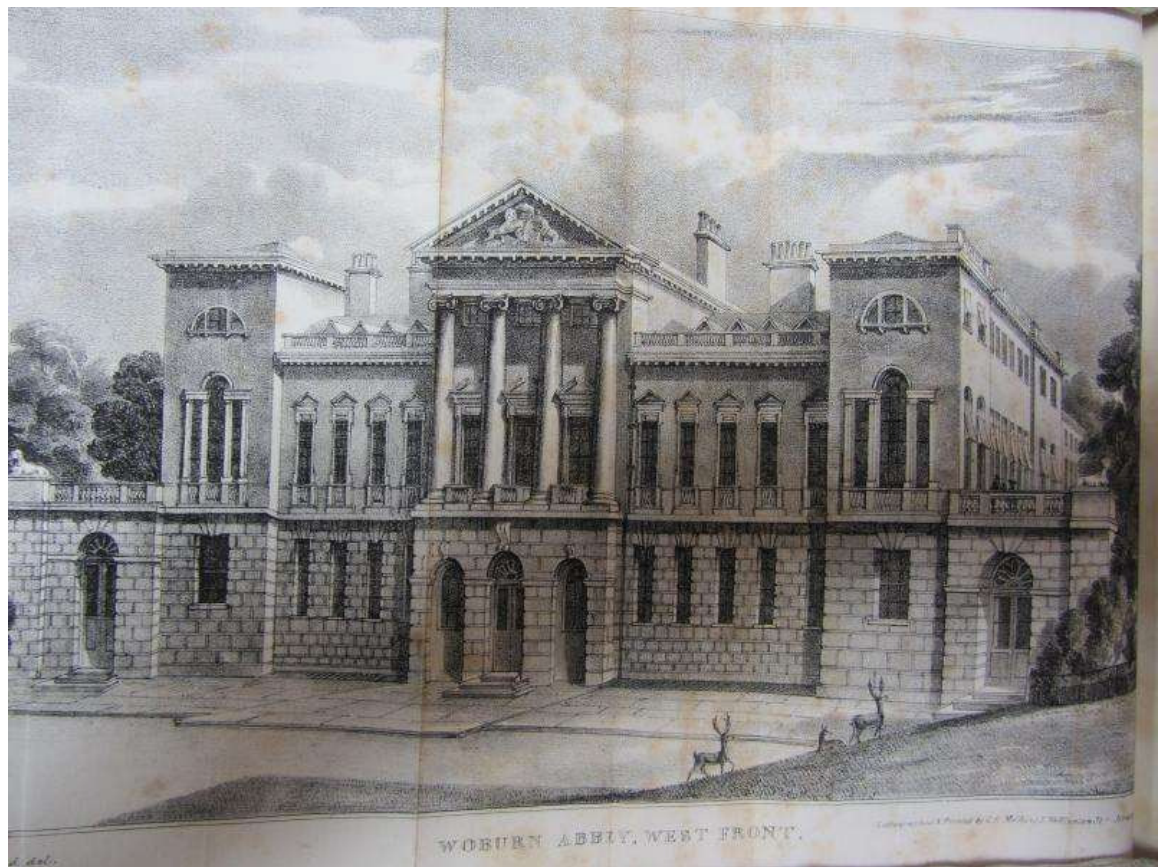


Figure 61: 'Woburn Abbey, West front', in J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (London: Longman and Co., Woburn: S. Dodd & Brighton: F. Wright, 1831).



Figure 62: ‘West Front, Woburn Abbey’, in P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827), unpaginated.

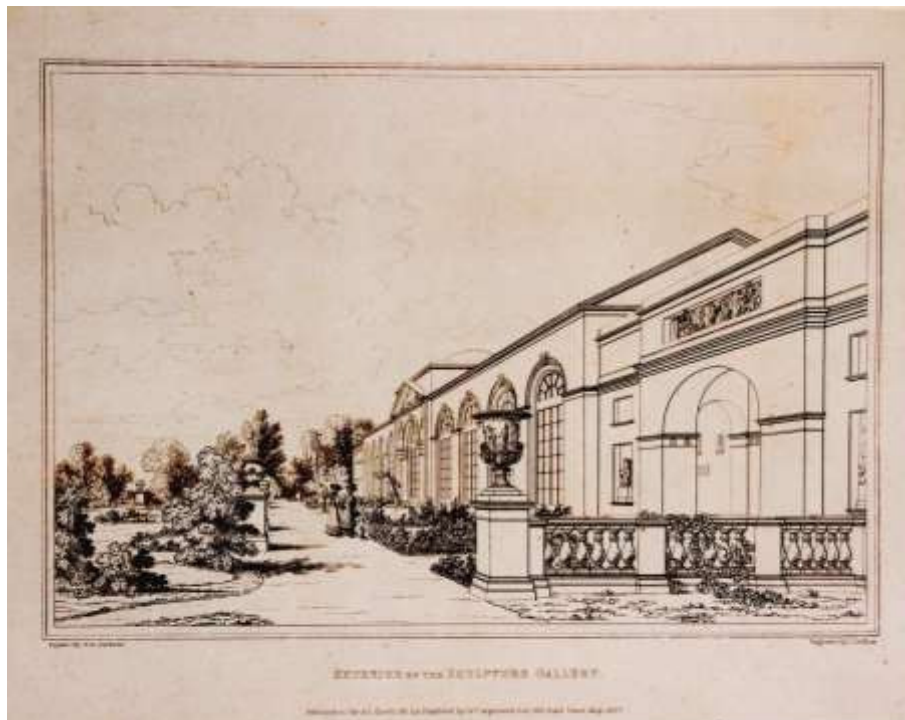


Figure 63: ‘Exterior of the Sculpture Gallery’, in P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827), unpaginated.

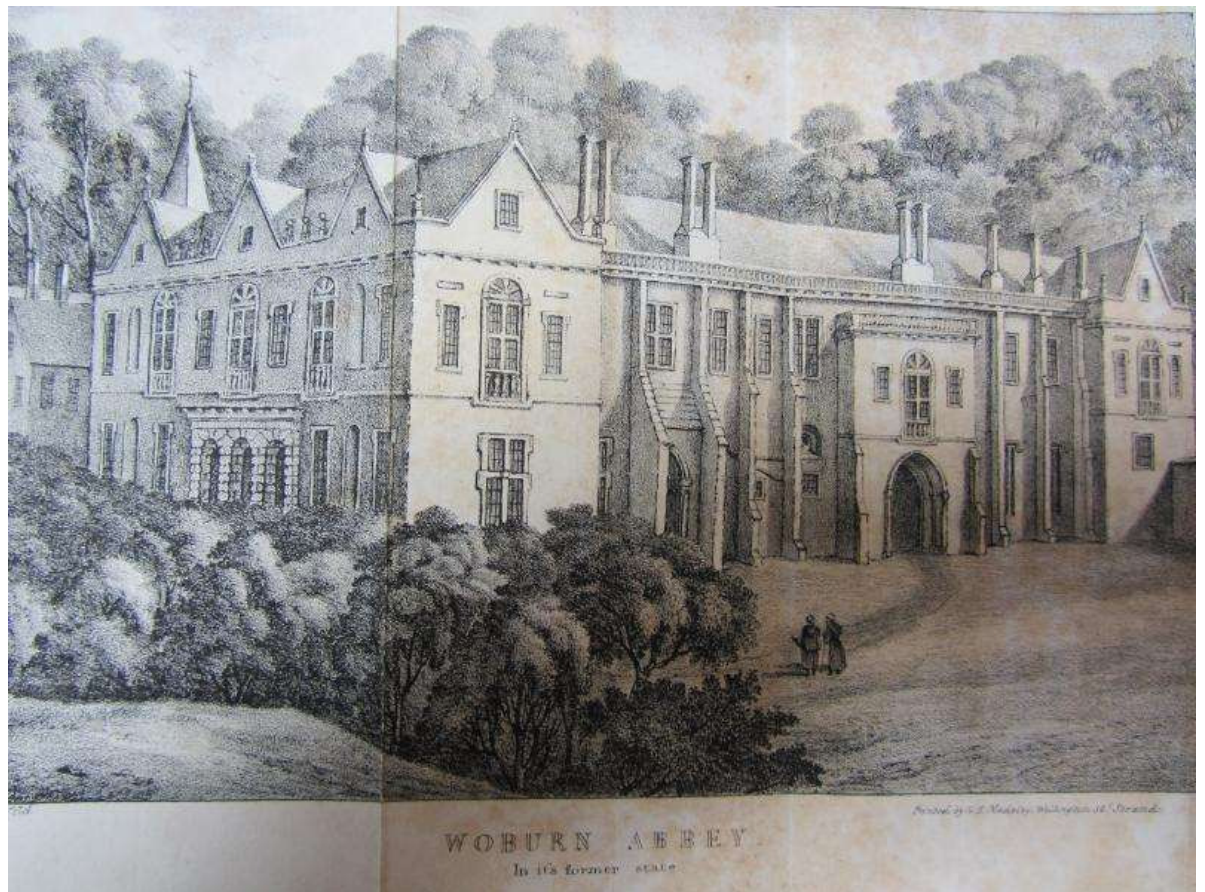


Figure 64: ‘Woburn Abbey in its Former State’, in J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (London: Longman and Co., Woburn: S. Dodd & Brighton: F. Wright, 1831).



Figure 65: 'Fonthill Abbey, Window & c. in St. Michael's Gallery', in J. Britton, *Illustrations, Graphic and Literary, of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire*, (London: Printed for the author, 1823), Plate X, pp. 12-13.



Figure 66: ‘Frontispiece: Woburn Abbey in Its Former State’, in J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (Woburn, 1831), (Canadian Centre for Architecture copy).

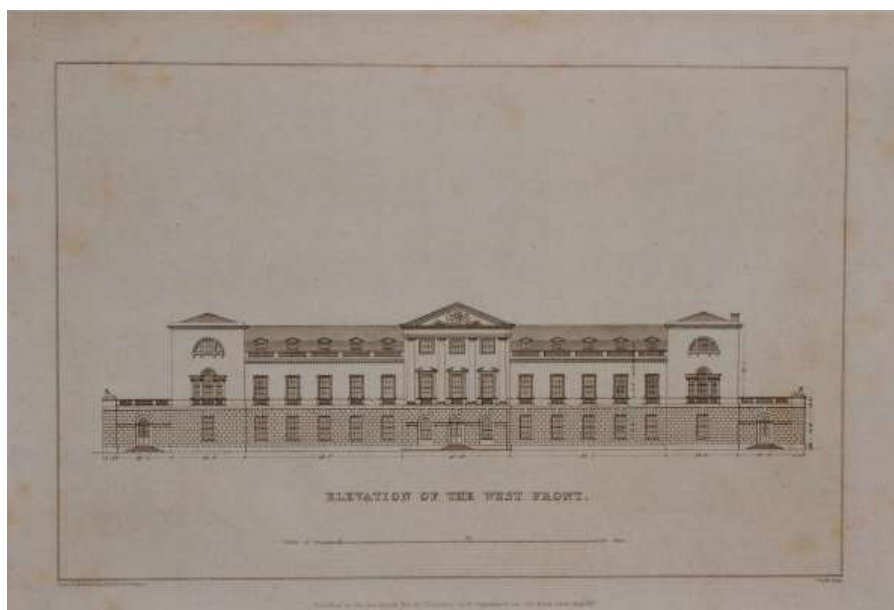


Figure 67: ‘Elevation of the West front’, P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (London: J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827), no page number.

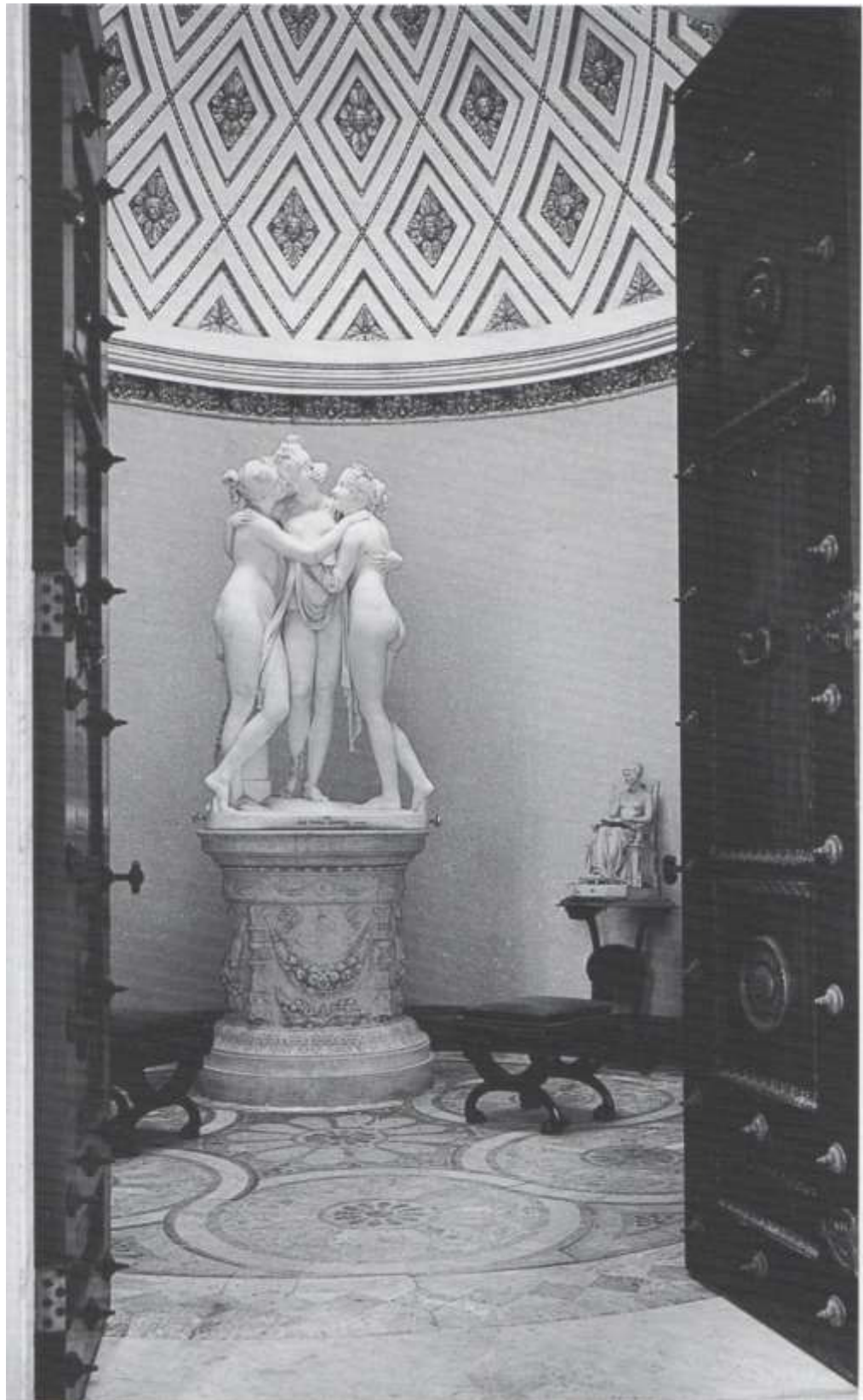


Figure 68: Antonio Canova, *The Three Graces*, in place at Woburn Abbey, marble, from: Baker, Malcolm, *Figured in Marble: The Making and Viewing of Eighteenth-Century Sculpture*, (London: V & A Publications, 2000), p. 163.

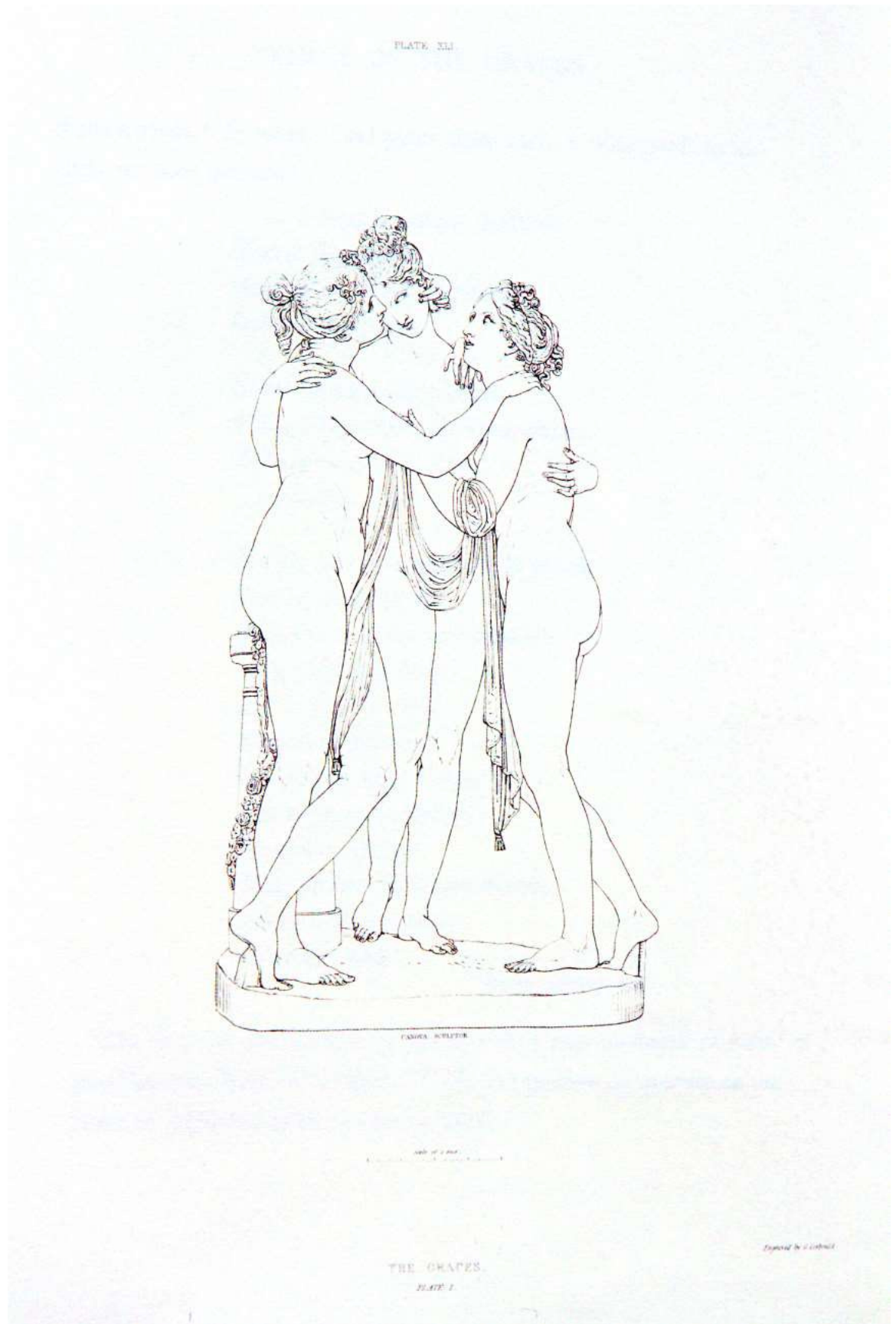


Figure 69: 'The Graces', in *Outline Descriptions and Engravings of the Woburn Abbey Marbles* (London: W. Nichol, Shakspeare Press, 1822), Plate XLI, pp. 174-5.

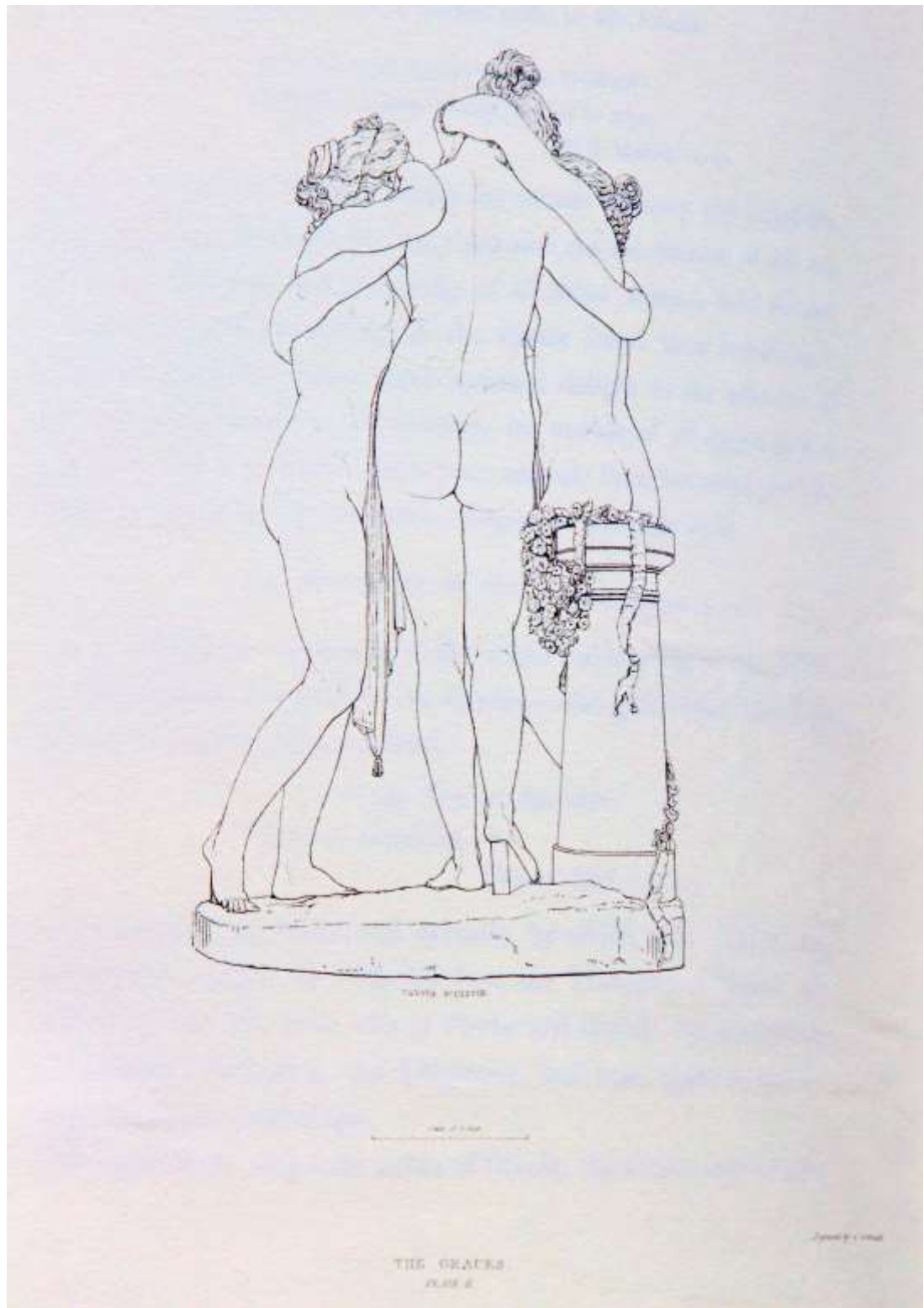


Figure 70: 'The Graces', *Outline Descriptions and Engravings of the Woburn Abbey Marbles* (London: W. Nichol, Shakspeare Press, 1822), Plate XLII, pp. 178-9.

**Illustrations for Chapter 3: Cotehele House: Representation of a Seat
from the Olden Time'.**

To
The Right Honorable,
Augustus, Earl of Mount Edgcumbe,
These Illustrations
of his Ancient Mansion
of Cothele,
in the County of Cornwall,
are inscribed,
a small tribute of Respect and Gratitude,
By His Lordship's
ever obliged
and very faithful servant,
Nicholas Condry.

Figure 71: 'Dedication' in N. Condry, 'Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar', c. 1845.



Figure 72: Main entrance to Cotehele with gatehouse, Cornwall, May 2011. Photo: I. Riddy.



Figure 73: Mount Edgcumbe House, Cornwall, May 2011. Photo: G. Riddy.



Figure 74: N. Condry, *Cotheel on Rent Day*, c. 1830s.



Figure 75: Alms dish, Nuremburg, Cotehele House
<http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/347970>



Figure 76: Dining room, Cotehele, 1860, Mt. Edgcumbe archive.

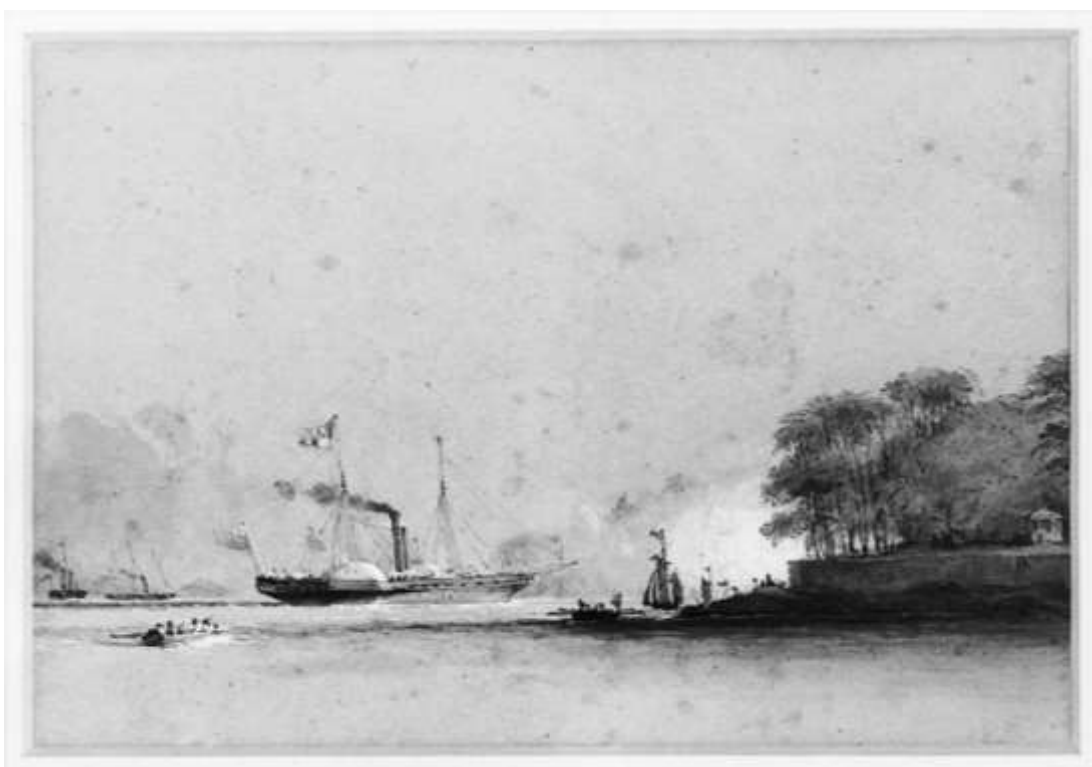


Figure 77: N.M. Condry, *The Victoria and Albert [I] and Fairy, with the Admiralty Yacht Black Eagle, entering Barnpool, 21 August 1846*, 30.2 x 35.3 cm, Royal Collection, RCIN 45080, Reference(s): RL 23540 & DM 1195, at: at the Royal Collection Website: <http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/450803/the-victoria-and-albert-i-and-fairy-with-the-admiralty-yacht-black>.



Figure 78: N.M Condry, *the royal barge rowing ashore from the Fairy to land at Cotehele Quay*, 17.0 x 25.5 cm, Royal Collection, RCIN 920177, Reference(s): RL 20177 & DM 189, at the Royal Collection Website: www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/920177



Figure 79: N. Condry, *The Royal Yacht lying in Barn-Pool, her Majesty returning from her visit to Mount Edgecumbe*, 1843, hand-coloured lithograph, 215 mm x 239 mm National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, PAD6533, National Maritime Museum website at: <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/110684.html>

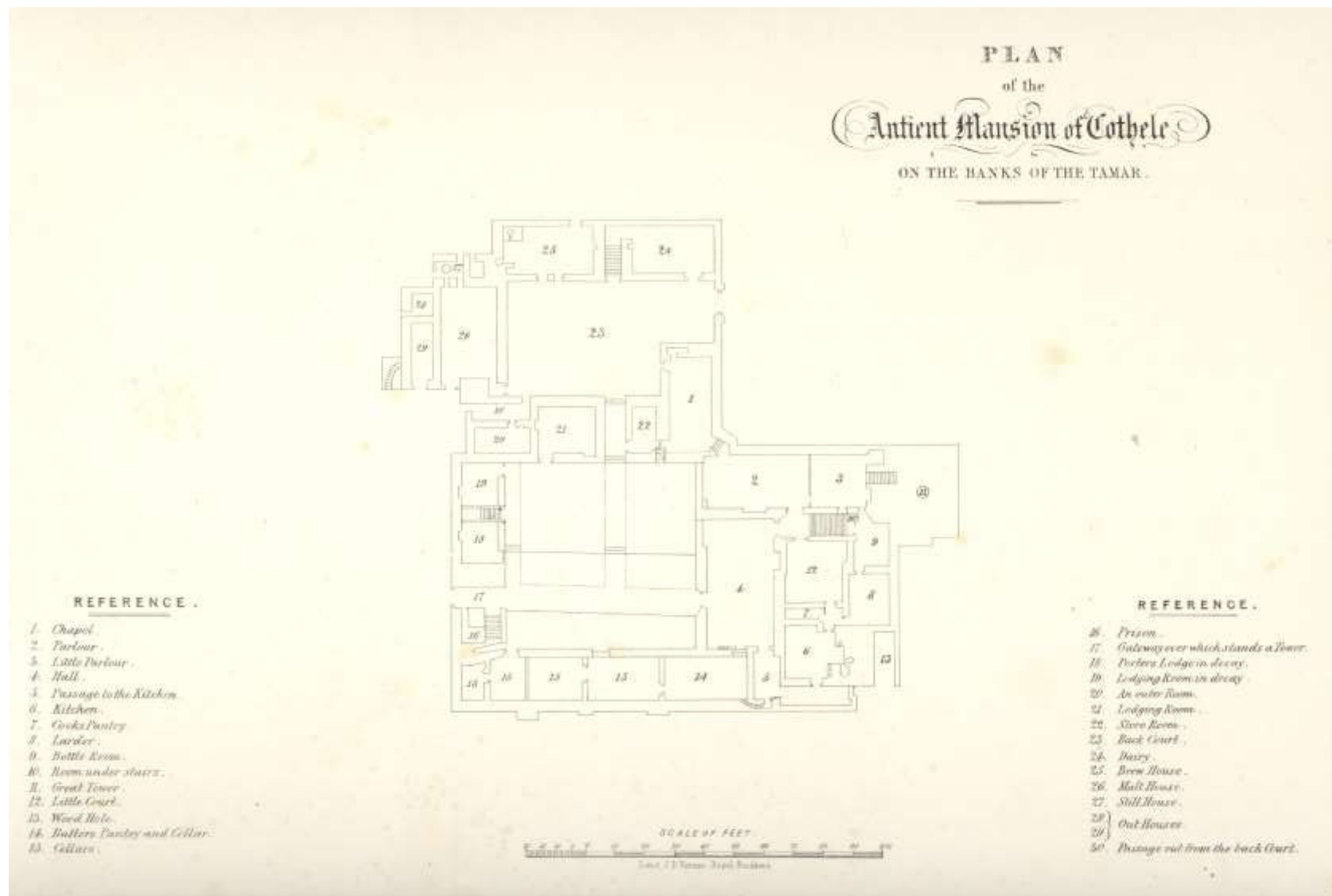


Figure 80: N. Condry, 'Plan of Cotehele' in 'Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar', c. 1845, lithograph.



Figure 81: Nicholas Condry, 'frontispiece' in *Cothel on the Banks of the Tamar*, c. 1845, lithograph.

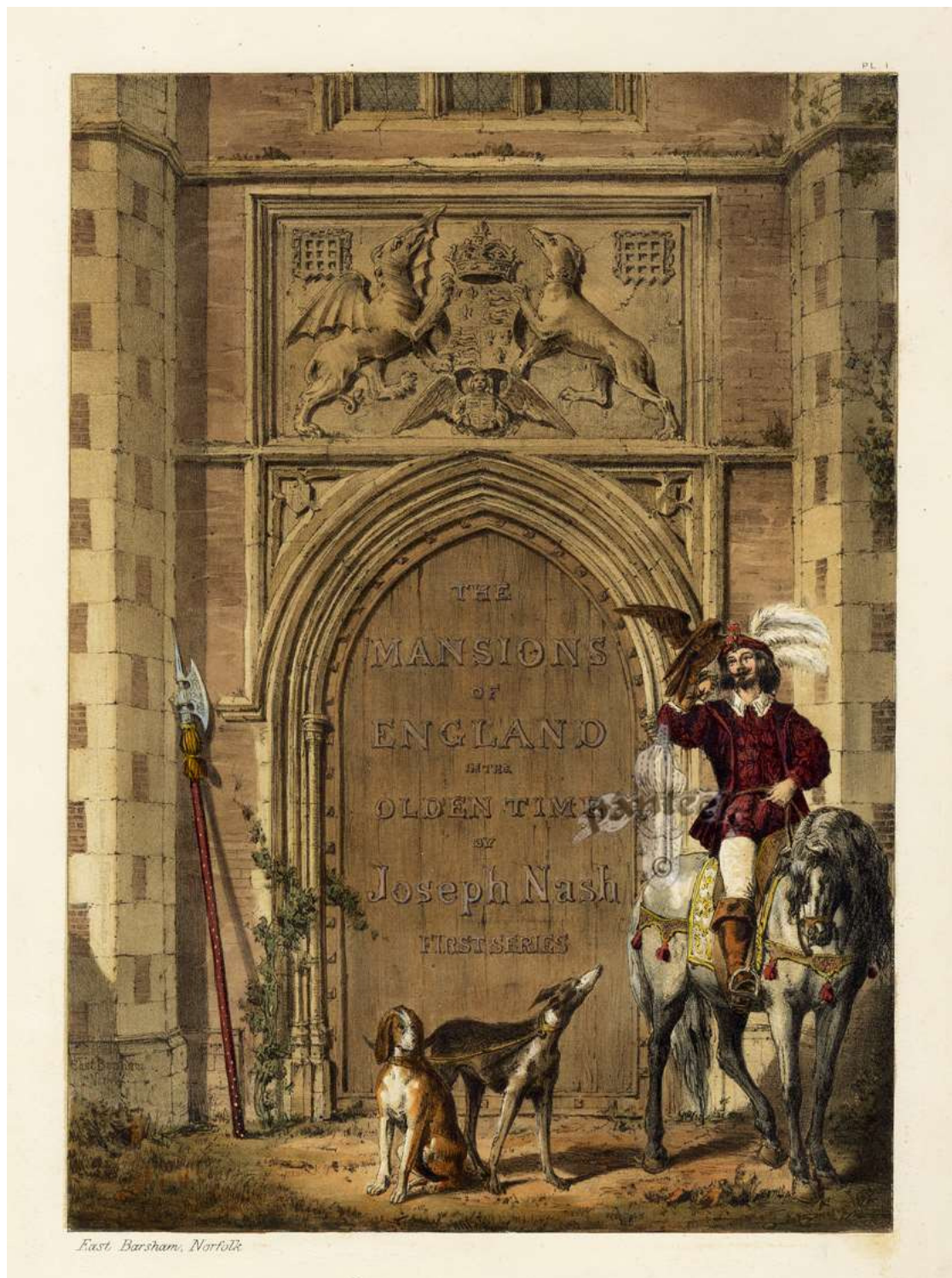


Figure 82: J. Nash, 'frontispiece', *The Mansions of England in the Olden Time*, (London: T. McLean, 1839).



Figure 83: Nicholas Condry, 'Quadrangle' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845.



Figure 84: Nicholas Condry, 'The Drawing Room' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.



Figure 85: N. Condry, 'The Hall' in *'Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar'*, c. 1845, lithograph.

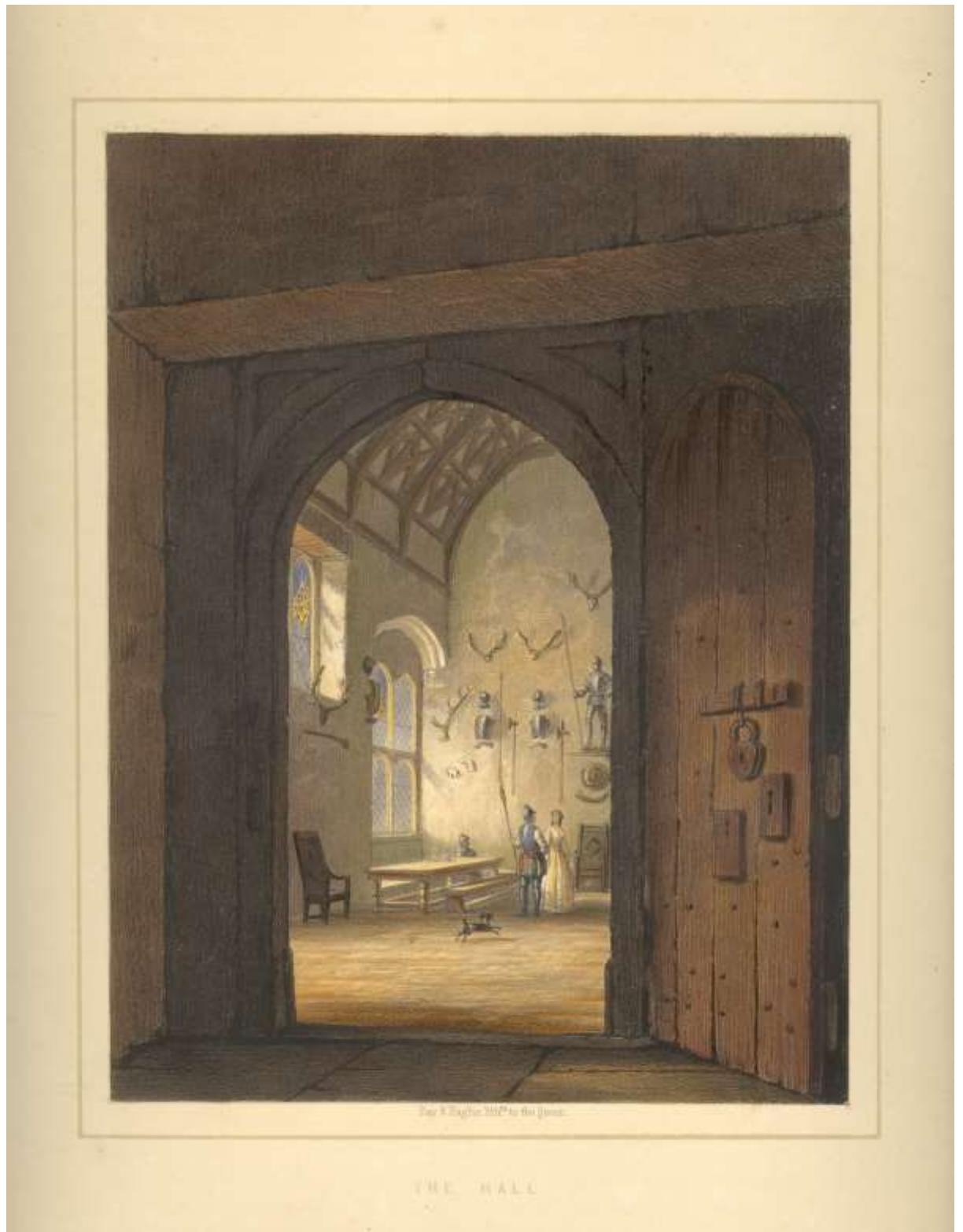


Figure 86: N. Condry, 'The Hall' in '*Cothelie on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.



Figure 87: John Buckler, *Interior View of the Hall at Cotehele, Cornwall*, drawing, 1821 (Courtesy of the Cotehele archives).

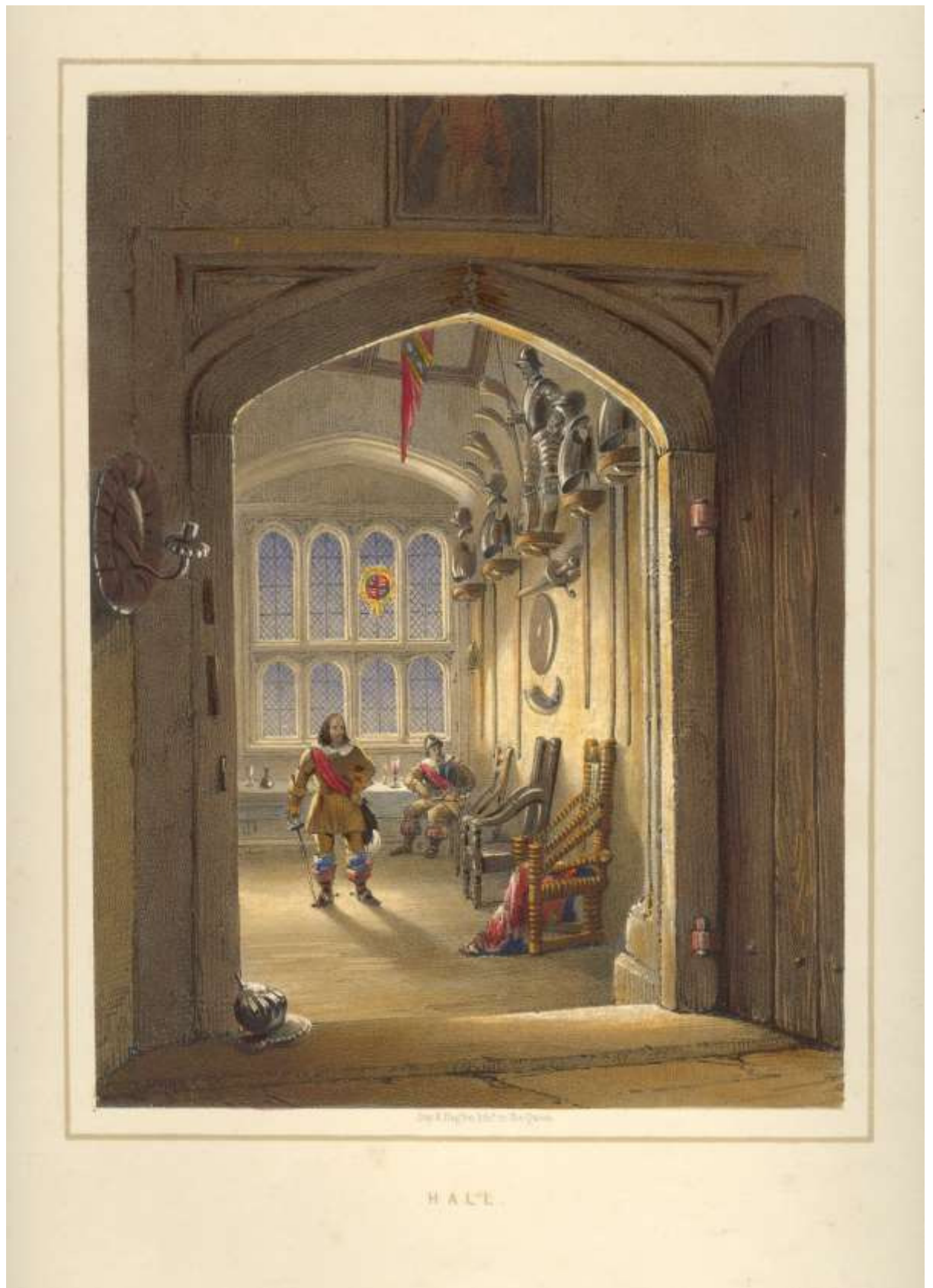


Figure 88: Nicholas Condry, 'The Hall' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.



Figure 89: 'Nicholas Condry, 'The Entrance' in '*Cothelie on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.



Figure 90: Nicholas Condry, *The Hall, Antony*, lithograph. Source: National Trust at <http://www.ntprints.com/image/344339/>.



Figure 91: Nicholas Condry, 'The Western Tower' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.



Figure 92: Nicholas Condry, 'The kitchen' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.



Figure 93: Nicholas Condé, 'Ante-Room' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.



Figure 94: Nicholas Condé, 'The Red Room' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.



Figure 95: Nicholas Condry, 'The White Room' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.



Figure 96: Nicholas Condry, 'Chapel in the Wood' in '*Cothele on the Banks of the Tamar*', c. 1845, lithograph.

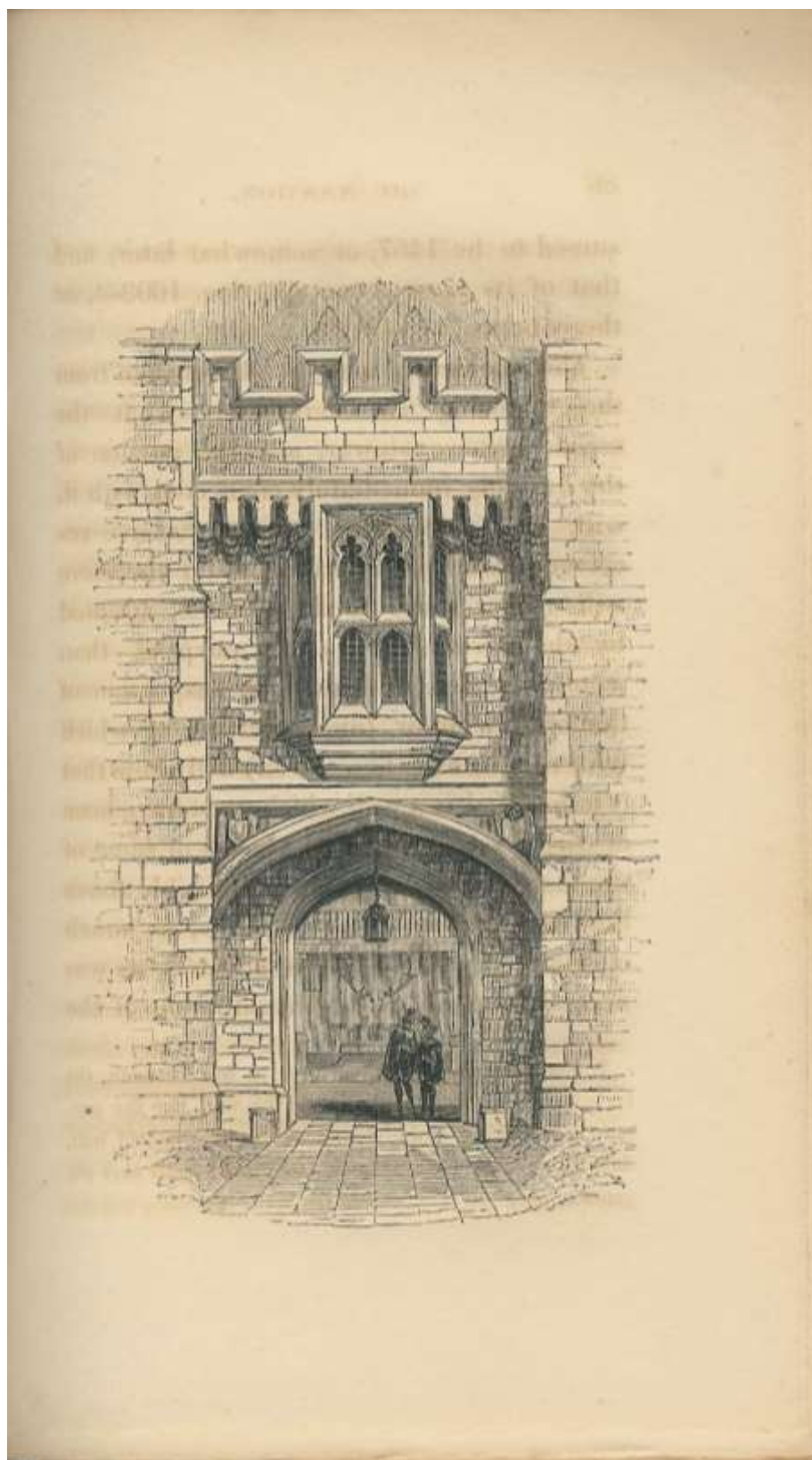


Figure 97: *Tower at Knole*, from: Brady, John, H. *The Visitor's Guide to Knole in the county of Kent, with Catalogues of the pictures contained in the mansion, and biographical notices of the principal persons whose portrait form part of the collection*, (Sevenoaks: James Payne, 1839), pp. 86-7.



Figure 98: Chair in the Great Hall, Cotehele, May 2011. Photo: G. Riddy. (Note: the shield on the chair is a modern National Trust label).



Figure 99: Footstool, South Chamber, Cotehele, May 2011. Photo: I. Riddy.



Figure 100: Bed in the Queen Anne Room, Cotehele, May 2011. Photo: I. Riddy.



Figure 101: Front cover of 'G.U.', *Haddon Hall in the Olden Time and a Description of the Mansion in 1838*, (London: J. Williams, 1838).

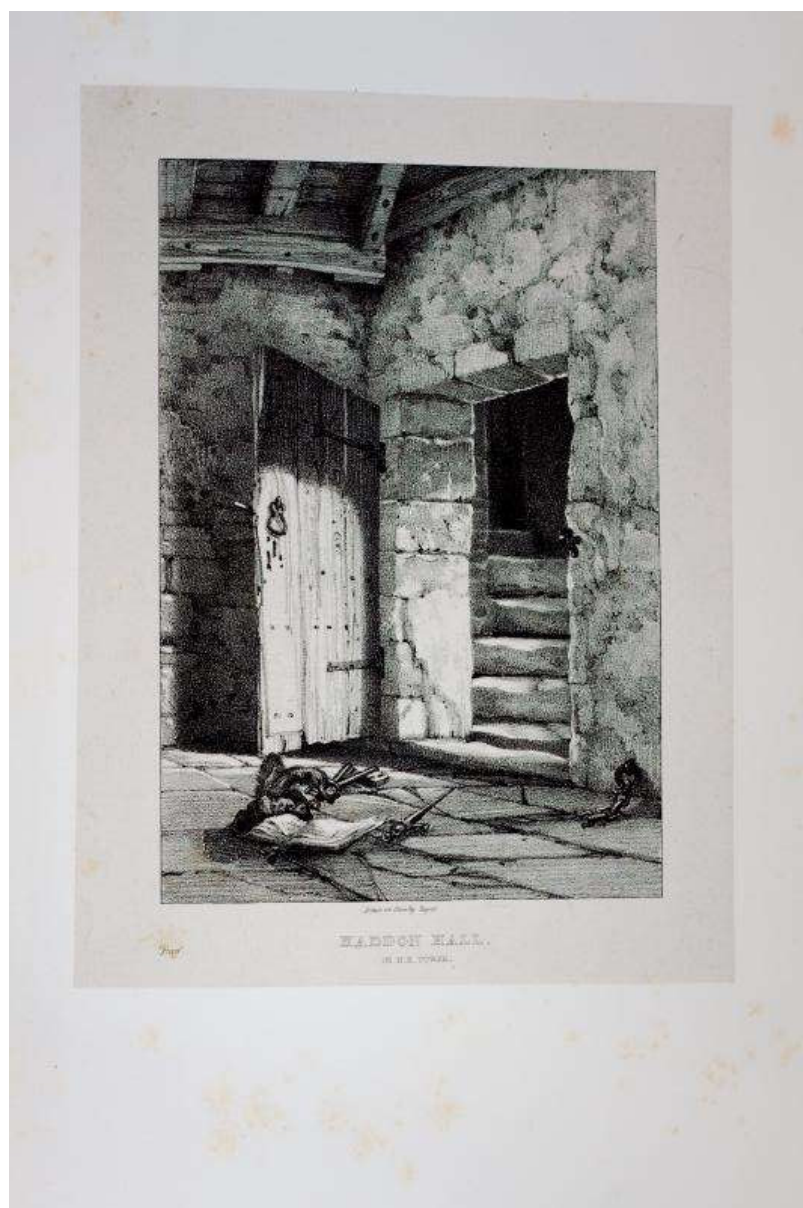


Figure 102: ‘In the NE Tower’, in S. Rayner, *The History and antiquities of Haddon Hall*, illustrated by 32 highly finished drawings with an account of the hall in its present state, (Derby: Robert Mosely, 1836).

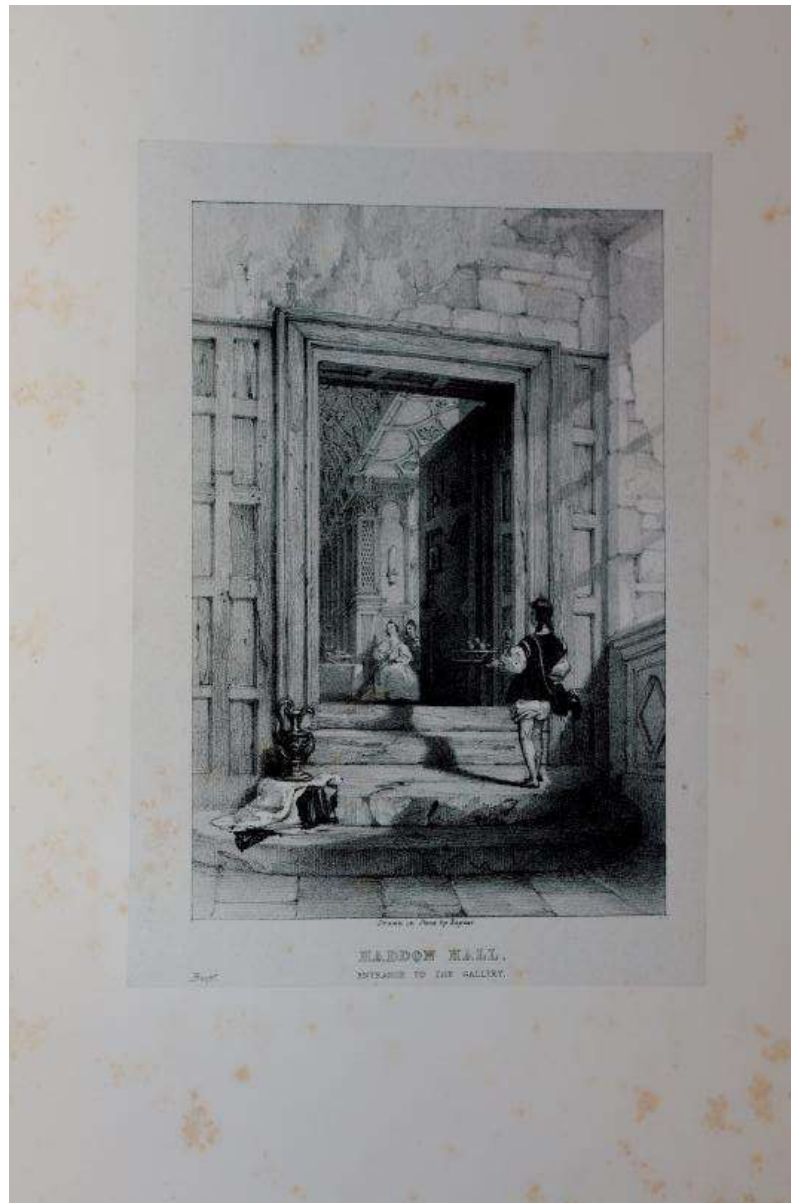


Figure 103: 'Entrance to the Gallery', in S. Rayner, *The History and antiquities of Haddon Hall*, illustrated by 32 highly finished drawings with an account of the hall in its present state, (Derby: Robert Mosely, 1836).



Figure 104: Joseph Nash, Haddon Hall Derbyshire: 'The Long Gallery', lithograph in J. Nash, *The Mansions of England in the Olden Time*, ed by C. Holme, (London: The Studio, 1906), plate XL [1839].

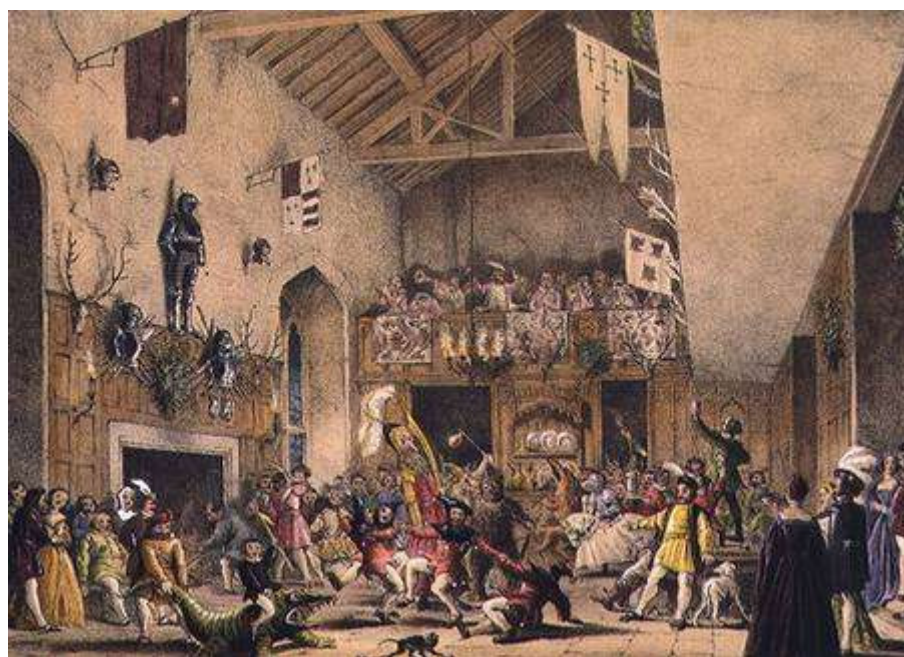


Figure 105: Joseph Nash, 'Haddon Hall Derbyshire: Great Hall', coloured lithograph, in J. Nash, *The Mansions of England in the Olden Time*, ed by C. Holme, (London: The Studio, 1906), [1839].



Figure 106: 'Dining Room', in S. Rayner, *The History and antiquities of Haddon Hall*, illustrated by 32 highly finished drawings with an account of the hall in its present state, (Derby: Robert Mosely, 1836).



Figure 107: 'Bedroom', in S. Rayner, *The History and antiquities of Haddon Hall*, illustrated by 32 highly finished drawings with an account of the hall in its present state, (Derby: Robert Mosely, 1836).



Figure 108: 'Kitchen', in S. Rayner, *The History and antiquities of Haddon Hall*, illustrated by 32 highly finished drawings with an account of the hall in its present state, (Derby: Robert Mosely, 1836)

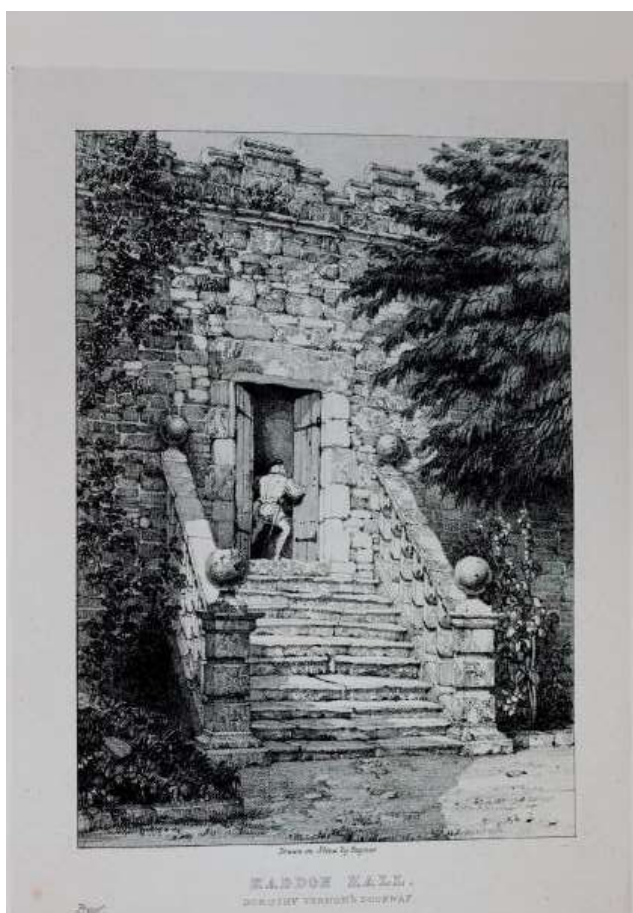


Figure 109: 'Dorothy Vernon's Stairway', in S. Rayner, *The History and antiquities of Haddon Hall*, illustrated by 32 highly finished drawings with an account of the hall in its present state, (Derby: Robert Mosely, 1836).



Figure 110: J.R. Thompson, 'Cotele House', in J. Britton & E. Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol 2. (London: Vernor & Hood, 1801), pp. 364-365.



Figure 111: 'West Tower, Cotehele House', in F.W.L Stockdale, *Excursions in the County of Cornwall, Comprising a Concise Historical and Topographical Delineation of the Principal Towns and Villages etc.* (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1824), p. 128.



Figure 112: ‘West Tower, Cotehele House’, J. Britton, *Cornwall Illustrated in a Series of Views of Castles, Seats of the Nobility, Mines, Picturesque Scenery, Towns, Public Buildings, Churches, Antiquities & c.*, (London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1831), pp 16-17.

Illustrations for chapter 4: The Deepdene



Figure 113: Sir William Beechey, *Thomas Hope*, 1798, oil on canvas, 2216 mm x 1689 mm, courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, London, at: <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw03241/Thomas-Hope> [accessed 04.09.2013].

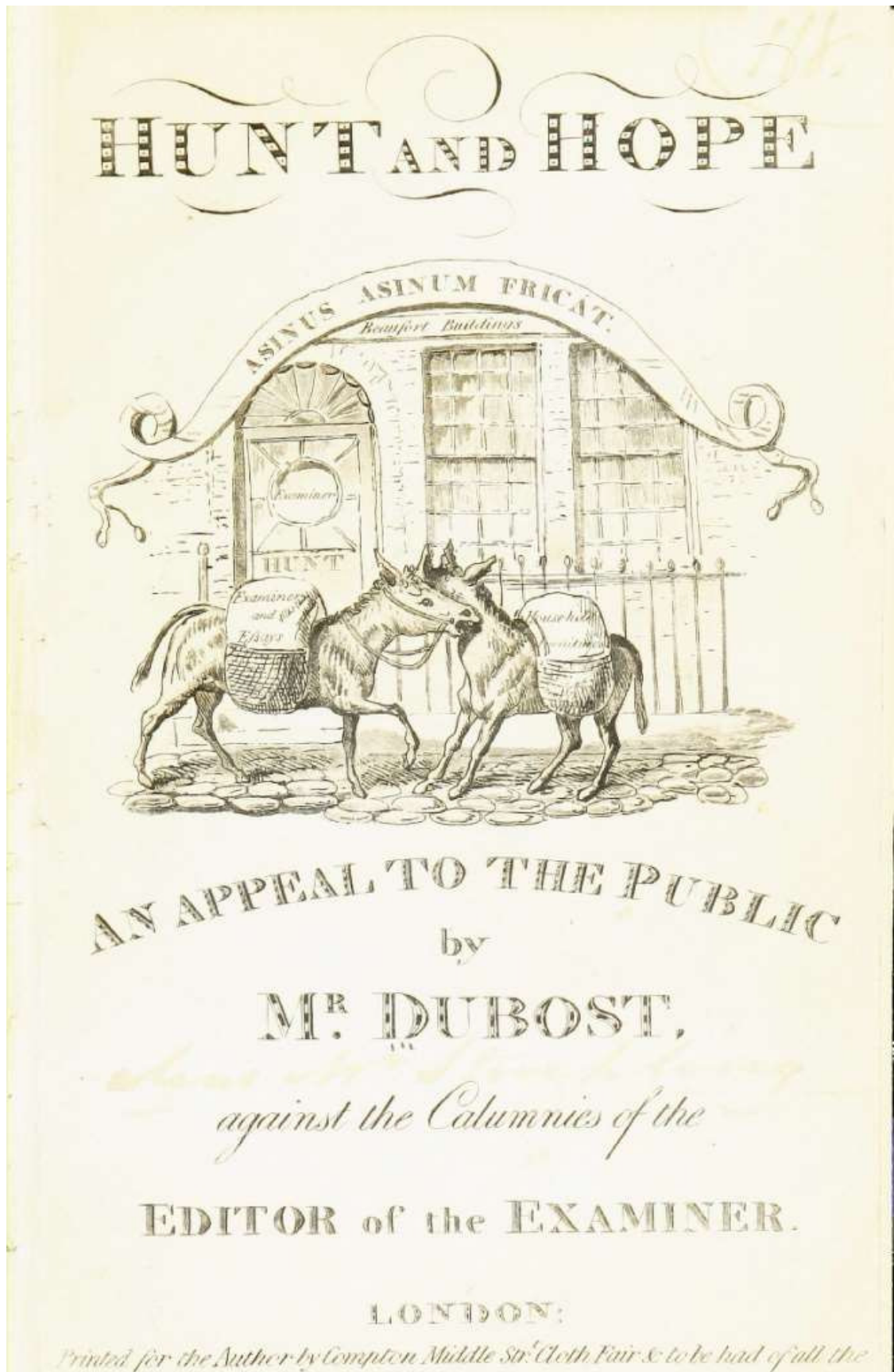


Figure 114: A. Dubost, *Hunt and Hope: An Appeal to the Public against the Calumnies of the Editor of the Examiner*, (London, 1810).

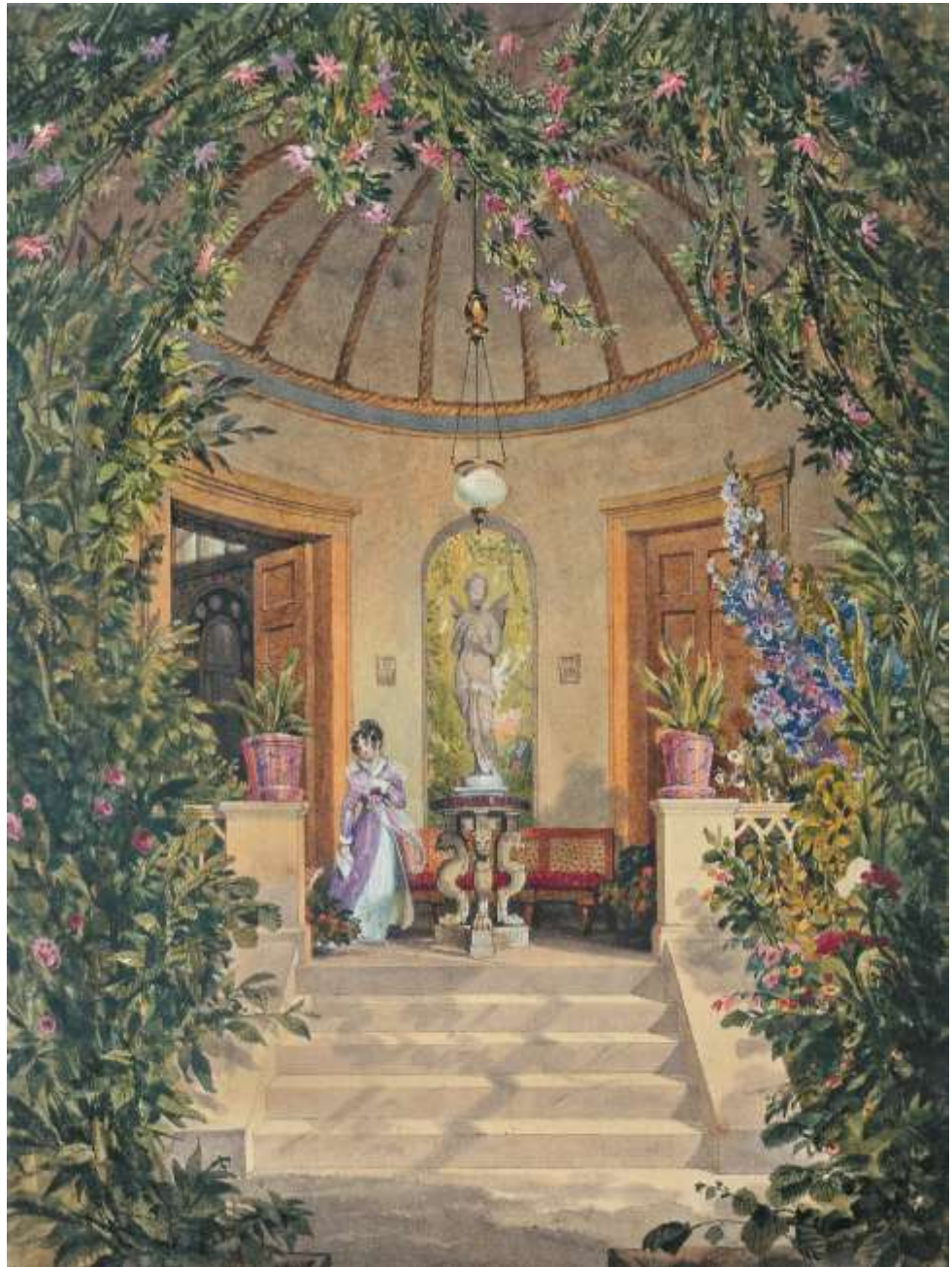


Figure 115: Penry Williams, *The Circular Conservatory*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 9.25 x 7 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.



Figure 116: Penry Williams, *Theatre of the Arts*, c. 1825-6, watercolour. 8.25 X 7in, courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.

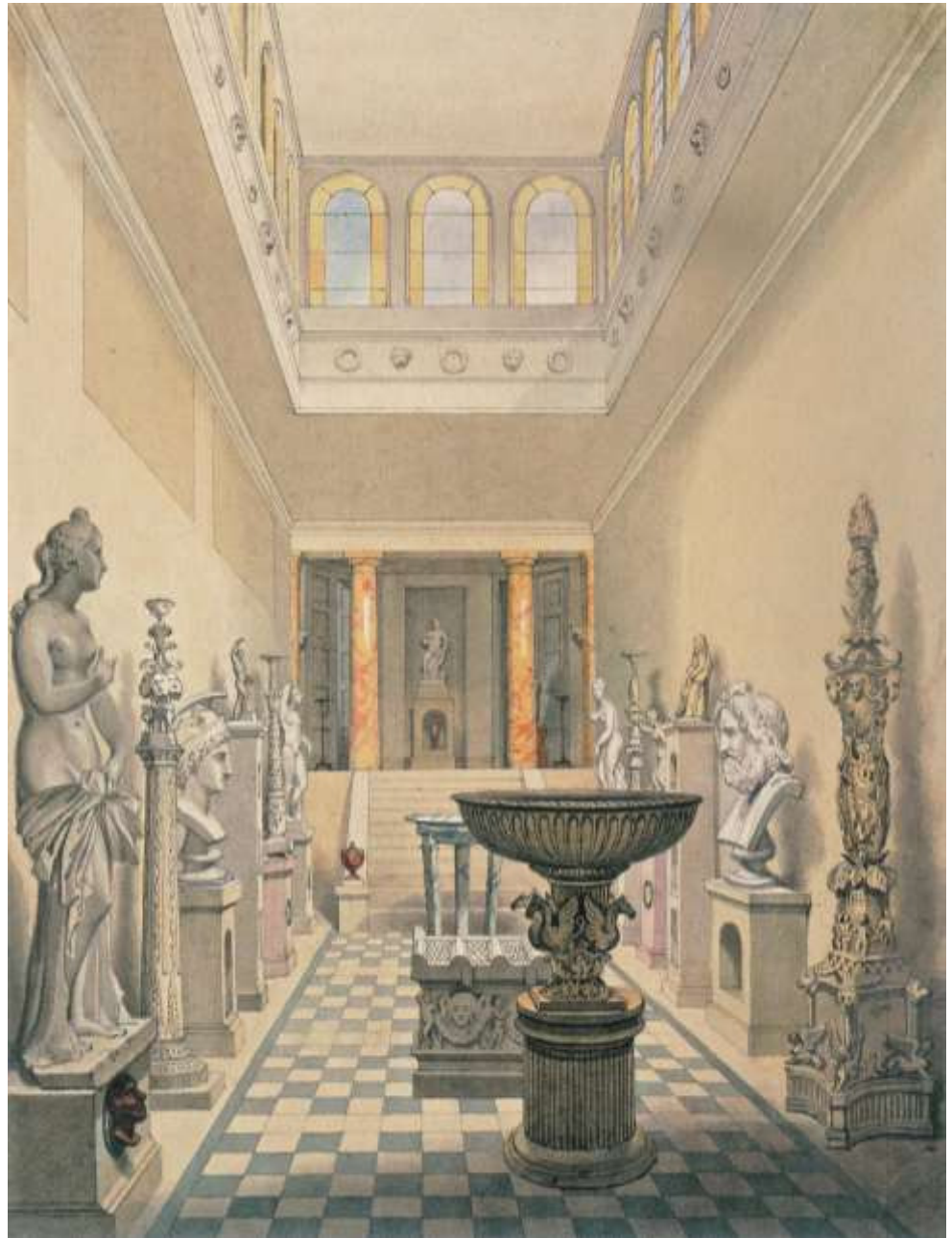


Figure 117: Penry Williams, *Statue Gallery*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 9.125 X 7 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.



Figure 118: Penry Williams, *Boudoir*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 10.875 X 7.5 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.



Figure 119: Penry Williams, *Library Chimney-piece*, c. 1825-6, watercolour. 10.875 X 7.5in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.

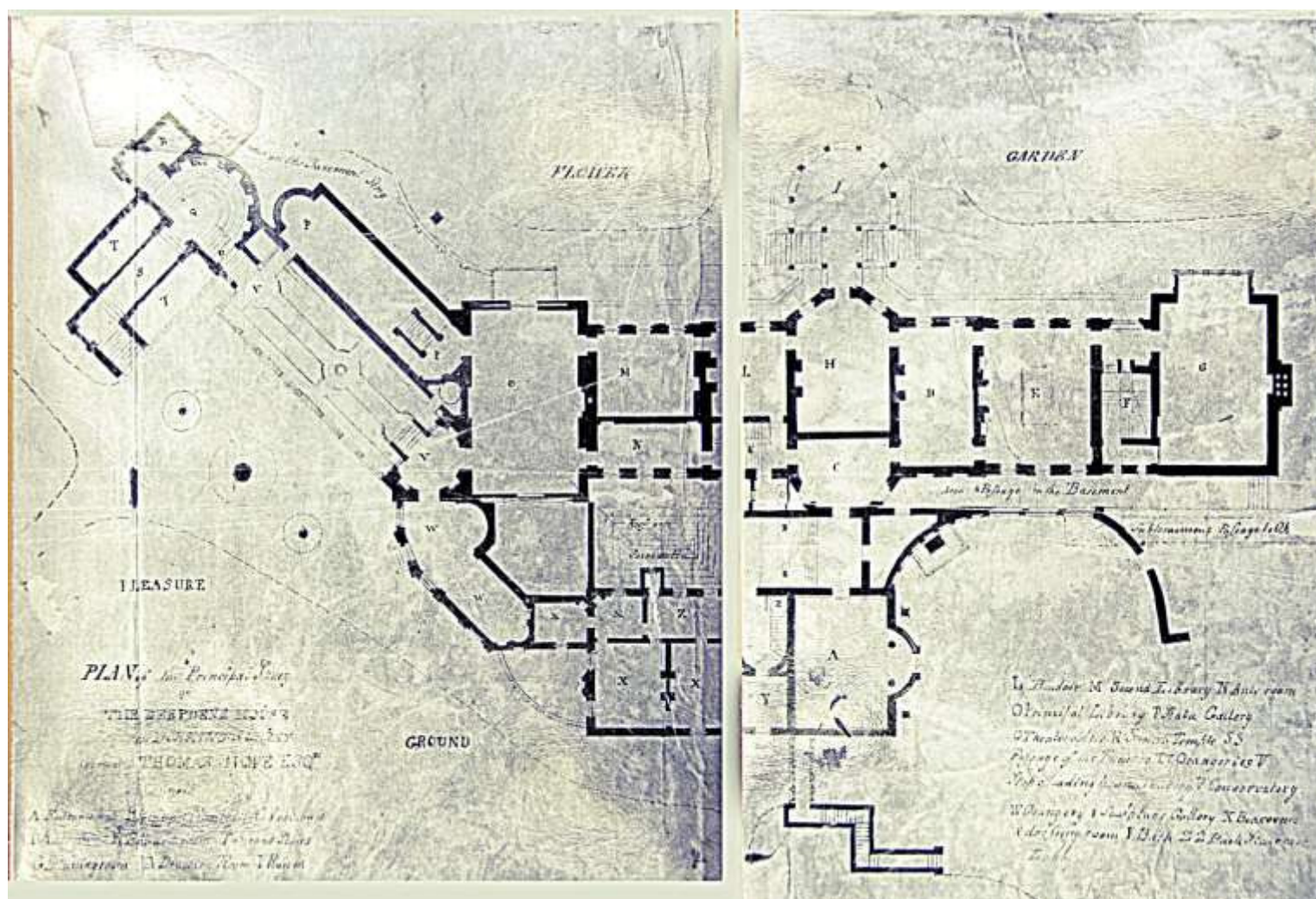


Figure 120: Plan of the Deepdene, J. Britton, *A historical and descriptive account by John Britton of The Deepdene*, S2589 S.R., Minet Library, Lambeth, London.¹ N.B. the room key is on the next page.

¹ This plan is photographed from two fragile pieces of tracing paper lodged at the Minet Library, Lambeth. I have spliced these together to create one image, but a central wall is thus missing in the final figure.

For figure 120 on the preceding page

Plan of the Deepdene: room key

A: Entrance Hall	M: Old Library
B: Principle Staircase	N: Ante Room
C: Middle hall	O: New Library
D: Ante Room	P: Statue Gallery
E: Billiard Room	Q: Theatre of the Arts
F: Tower	R: Studio
G: Dining Room	S: Small Temple
H: Drawing Room	T: Orangeries
I: Platform	W: Sculpture Room
K: Stairs	X: Bedroom
L: Boudoir	Z: Bathroom

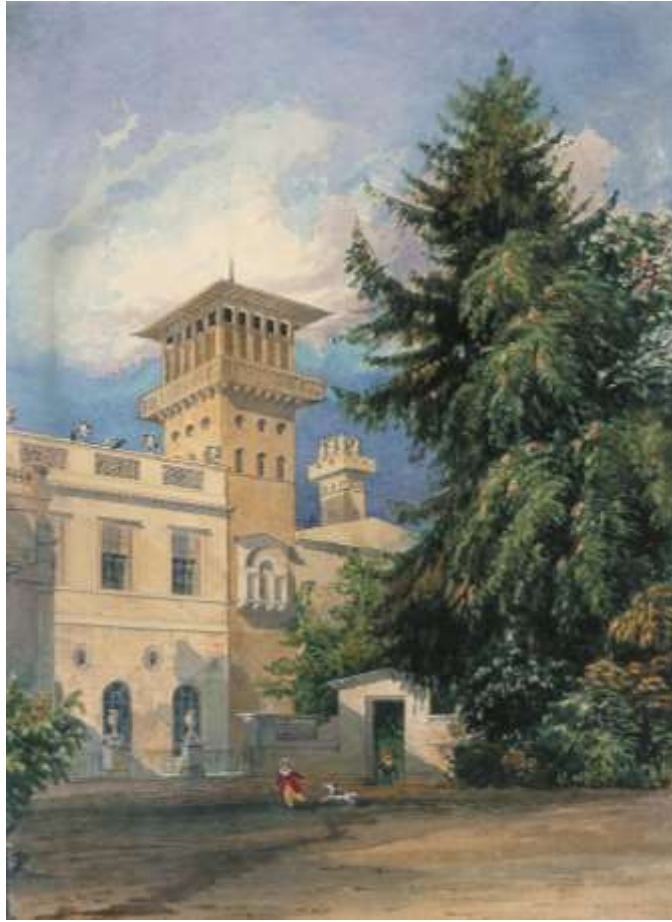


Figure 121: William Henry Bartlett, *Entrance Court, Looking towards the Tower*, c. 1825-6, 7.625 X 4.75 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.



Figure 122: John B. Papworth, *A Villa*, plate XVII, in J.B. Papworth, 'Rural Residences consisting of a Series of Designs for Cottages, Decorated Cottages, Small Villas and Other Ornamental Buildings, Accompanied by Hints on Situation, Construction, arrangement and Decoration, in the Theory and Practice of Rural Architecture, Interspersed with Some Observations on Landscape Gardening', (London: R. Ackermann, 1818), p. 67-68.



Figure 123: William Henry Bartlett, *Theatre of the Arts, Conservatory and Gothic Wing*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 13.875 X 8.125 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.



Figure 124: William Henry Barlett, *Roof Parapet*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, VOS/96, RIBA 12861, courtesy of Royal Institute of British Architects.



Figure 125: Thomas Hope, *View of Naxos island seen through the monumental doorway of the Archaic temple*, inscribed: *Doorway of the unfinished Temple on the Rock at Paros*, c. 1787-95, pen and watercolour on paper, 44 X 29 cm., courtesy of the Benaki Museum, Athens, ΓΕ 27375.



Figure 126: Penry Williams, *View from the Long Conservatory*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 9.375 X 6.875 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.



Figure 127: William Henry Bartlett, *The Terrace Before the Drawing Room*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 11.375 X 7.75 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.



Figure 128: Salvator Rosa, *River Landscape with Apollo and the Cumaean Sibyll*, 1657-8, oil on canvas, 173.7 x 259.5 cm Wallace Collection, London.



Figure 129: Jacob van Ruisdael, *A Landscape with Bridge, Cattle and Figures*, c. 1660, 95.6 x 129.7 cm, oil on canvas, Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.



Figure 130: William Henry Bartlett, *View of Deepdene*, c. 1821-2, watercolour, 372.9 X 236.4 cm, RIBA 95181, courtesy of the Royal Institute of British Architects.



Figure 131: William Henry Bartlett, *View of Deepdene across countryside*, c. 1821-2, watercolour, 362.6 X 243.2 cm, RIBA 95183, courtesy of the Royal Institute of British Architects.



Figure 132: William Henry Bartlett, *The House from the Drying Grounds*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 13 X 9.5 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.



Figure 133: William Marlow, *View Near Naples*, date unknown (between 1768-1810), oil on canvas, 73.0 X 98.4 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



Figure 134: William Henry Bartlett, *Deepdene Approach Entrance*, c. 1821-2, watercolour, 360 X 214.8 cm, RIBA 4135, courtesy of the Royal Institute of British Architects.



Figure 135: William Henry Bartlett, *Deepdene Entrance*, c. 1821-2, watercolour, 375 X 235.4 cm, RIBA 95180, courtesy of the Royal Institute of British Architects.



Figure 136: J.P. Neale, 'The Deepdene Entrance Front', in *Views of Seats of Noblemen and gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, , series 2, vol. 3,(London: Sherwood Jones & Co., 1826), p. 1.



Figure 137: William Henry Bartlett, *Holm Wood and Distant Country from the Terrace*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 13.5 X 9.375., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.



Figure 138: View in the grounds of the Deepdene, Dorking. Photo: Paula Riddy, 5 August, 2013.



Figure 139: William Henry Bartlett, *Theatre of the Arts, Conservatory and Gothic Wing*, c. 1825-6, watercolour, 13.875 X 8.125 in., courtesy of the Minet Library, Lambeth.

I



Figure 140: J.P. Neale, 'The Deepdene South front', in *Views of Seats of Noblemen and gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, series 2, vol. 3, plate II (London: Sherwood Jones & Co., 1826), pp. 6-7.



Figure 141: William Henry Bartlett, Conservatory, c. 1821-2, watercolour, 360 X 249.7 cm, RIBA 10841, courtesy of the Royal Institute of British Architects.



Figure 142: J.P. Neale, 'The Deepdene Northwest Front', in *Views of Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, series 2, vol. 3, plate I, (London: Sherwood Jones & Co., 1826), pp. 4-5.



Figure 143: G.F. Prosser, 'Northwest front, the Deepdene', in *Surrey Seats*, (London: C. & J. Rivington, 1828).



Figure 144: E.W. Brayley et al. *A Topographical History of Surrey*, (London: G. Willis, 1850).

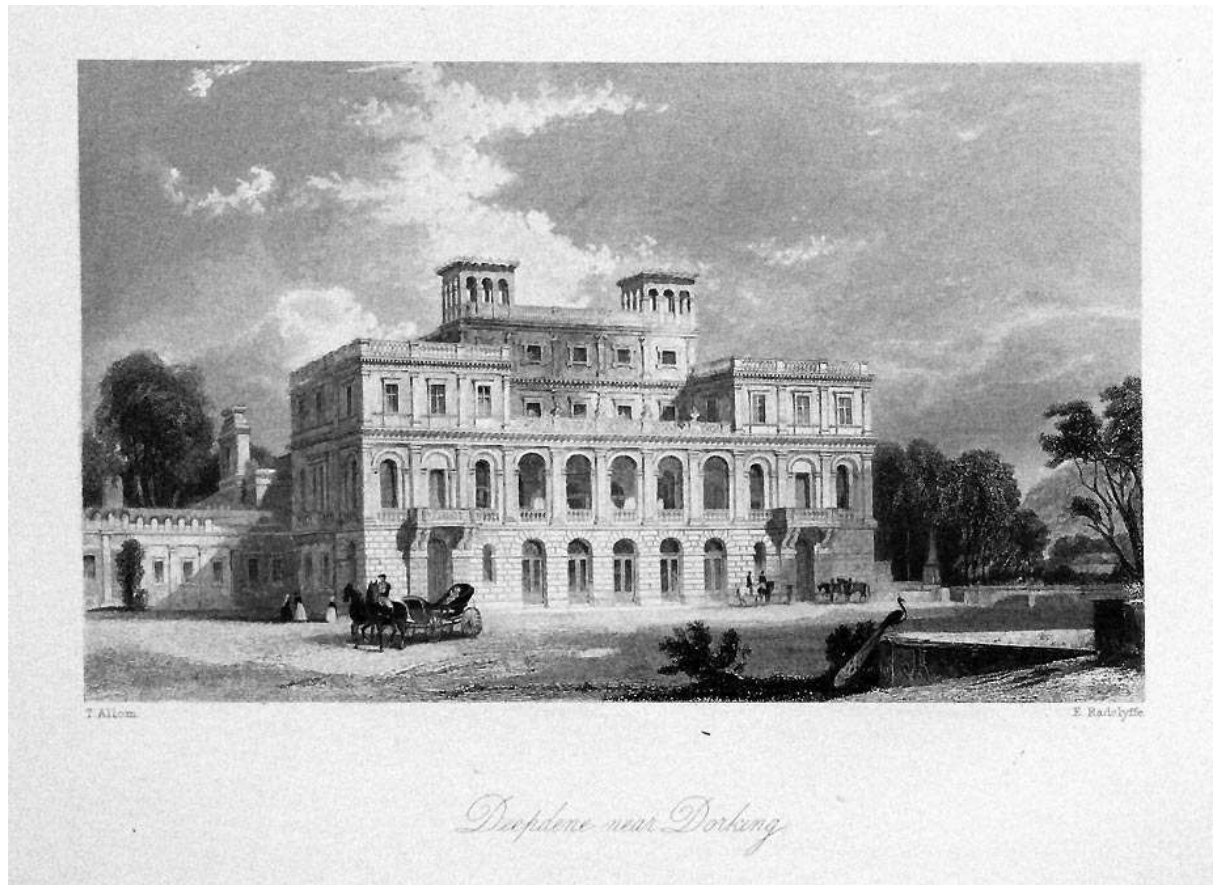


Figure 145: E.W.Brayley et al. *A Topographical History of Surrey*, (London: G.Willis, 1850).

Illustrations for chapter 5 ‘This Terrestrial Paradise Designed’: the country house description as a statement of personal identity.



Figure 146: James Edwards, ‘Map of London’ (detail), in J. Edwards, *From London to Brighthelmstone*, (London, 1801).



Figure 148: Samuel George, *A South View of a Villa at Camberwell, Surry belonging to John Coakley Lettsom*, in J.C. Lettsom, 'Grove Hill: An Horticultural Sketch', (London: 1794), pp. 2-3.



Figure 149: (After) Johann, Zoffany (?), *The Lettsom Family*, c. 1783 or 1792, oil on canvas, 71 X 90.6cm, The Wellcome Trust, London.



Figure 150: Johann Zoffany, *The Drummond Family*, c. 1769, 104.1 X 160cm, Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.



Figure 151: T. Prattend, *Garden View of Dr. Lettsom's House* (published image monochrome) from 'Some Account of Grove Hill, near Camberwell, with an engraving of Dr Lettsom's House to Garden', *European Magazine and London Review*, no. 13, May 1788, pp. 320-323.

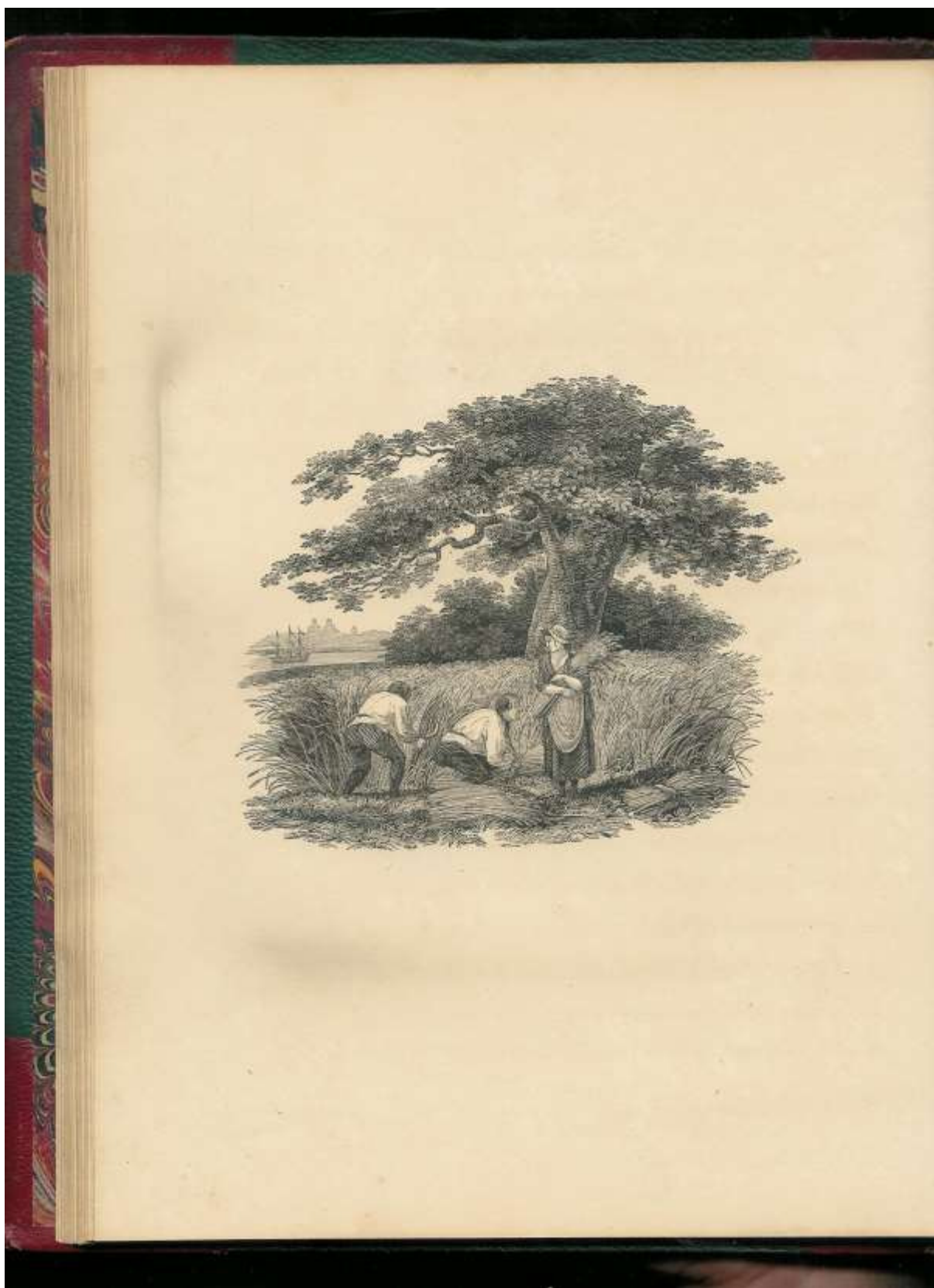


Figure 152: 'The View from the Turret', in T. Maurice, *Grove Hill a descriptive poem, with an ode to Mithra, by the author of Indian Antiquities*, (London: John and Arthur Arch and J Wright, 1799), pp. 16-17.



Figure 153: 'The Apiary', in T. Maurice, *Grove Hill a descriptive poem, with an ode to Mithra, by the author of Indian Antiquities*, (London: John and Arthur Arch and J Wright, 1799), pp. 30-31.



Figure 154: 'A North View of a Villa at Grove Hill, Camberwell, Surry, belonging to JC Lettsom M.D. ', in J.C. Lettsom, *Grove Hill: An Horticultural Sketch*, (London: 1794), pp. 10-11.



Figure 155: *Flora*, relief in coade stone, 86 Camberwell Road, formerly at Grove Hill, Photograph G. Riddy (January 2013).



Figure 156: *Liberty*, relief in coade stone, 86 Camberwell Road, formerly at Grove Hill, Photograph G. Riddy (January 2013).



Figure 157: *Plenty*, relief in coade stone, 86 Camberwell Road, formerly at Grove Hill, Photograph G. Riddy (January 2013).



Figure 158: E. Edwards, 'The Temple at Grove Hill', in J.C. Lettsom, *Grove-Hill: A Rural and Horticultural Sketch*, (London: Printed by Stephen Couchman, 1804), pp. 8-9.



Figure 159: ‘Address to the Deity’, in T. Maurice, *Grove Hill a descriptive poem, with an ode to Mithra, by the author of Indian Antiquities*, (London: John and Arthur Arch and J Wright, 1799), p. 1.



Figure 160: ‘The Library’, in T. Maurice, *Grove Hill a descriptive poem, with an ode to Mithra, by the author of Indian Antiquities*, (London: John and Arthur Arch and J. Wright, 1799), pp. 10-11.



Figure 161: 'The Museum' in T. Maurice, *Grove Hill a descriptive poem, with an ode to Mithra, by the author of Indian Antiquities*, (London: John and Arthur Arch and J. Wright, 1799), pp. 12-13.



Figure 162: *Portland Museum*, in K. Sloan, (ed.) 'Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century', (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), p. 87.



Figure 163: 'The Telegraph', in T. Maurice, *Grove Hill a descriptive poem, with an ode to Mithra, by the author of Indian Antiquities*, (London: John and Arthur Arch and J Wright, 1799), pp. 18-19.

Appendix: The Guidebooks

The following is a list of the country houses and their guidebooks included in this thesis research sample. The reference has been included for each newly written guidebook to the property; some additional editions of the same guide have also been listed. In a few cases there were slightly different versions of a publication, such as the same books printed in different sizes, or even the same book with slight variations to the illustrations. These have been noted where they occur.

The books were consulted at the following source locations, and these have been noted in each case:

British Library	BL
Bodleian Library, University of Oxford	BLOU
Cotehele House archives	COT
Harris Collection, Canadian Centre for Architecture	CCA
National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum	NAL
Private Collection	PC
Royal Institute of British Architects	RIBA

The size of each book has also been listed. The sizes of the books have been classified according to the standard measure for book sizing. Books listed as octavo in size are 15.3cm x 22.8cm, so fairly small and portable. Books listed as quarto are 24.2cm x 38.2cm, so medium-sized: some were quite thick books, and so rather heavy, and this has been noted also. Folio is the largest book-size used: these books are 30.5cm x 38.2cm, and so they are more suitable for use only in a library.

Finally the presence or not of illustrations in the books has been noted. A summary of these has been made, to indicate, for example, whether they consist of interior or exterior views or a combination of both.

Alnwick Castle

A Description of Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, (Alnwick: J. Catnach, 1796).

-2nd edn, (Alnwick: J. Catnach, 1800).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: very small, smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: no illustrations.

Althorp

1

Thomas Frognall Dibdin (& George John Spencer, Earl Spencer), *Aedes Althoripianae: or an Account of the mansion, books, and pictures, at Althorp; the residence of George John Earl Spencer To which is added a supplement to the Bibliotheca Spenceriana [With plates]*, 2 vols, (London: W. Nichol, 1822).

Location: BL, PC

Guidebook details

Size: medium, between octavo and quarto, thick volume.

Illustrations: black and white illustrations –

Exterior: front view with people, bridge, cottage.

Interior: pew ends, 1st Earl, Countess of Sutherland, plan, painting of a masked ball with characters in period dress, the library with people, the stairs with people, several more reproductions of portraits.

See over.....

Althorp continued**2**

Catalogue of the Pictures at Althorp, the seat of the Right Honourable Earl Spencer,
KG. (Northampton: W. Birdsall, 1823).

updated 2nd edition

Catalogue of the Pictures at Althorp House in the county of Northampton,
(London: W. Nichol, 1836).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: small, smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Ammerdown

Description of the Mansion, Marbles and Pictures at Ammerdown, in Somersetshire,
Stet fortuna domus! Virg. (Bath: printed by S. Hayward, c.1840).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: medium, smaller than quarto.

Other: slim, blue, leather bound.

Illustrations: none.

Appuldurcombe

Sir Richard Worlsey, *Museum Worsleyanum or a Collection of Antique Basso Relievos, Bustos, Statues, and Gems with views of Places in the Levant taken on the spot in the years 1785-6 and 7 [With descriptions] Engl and Ital LP* , 2 vols, (London: privately printed, 1798).¹

2nd edition:

Sir Richard Worlsey, *Museum Worsleyanum or a Collection of Antique Basso Relievos, Bustos, Statues, and Gems with views of Places in the Levant taken on the spot in the years 1785-6 and 7 [With descriptions] Engl and Ital LP* , 2 vols, (London: Septimus Prowett, 1824).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: large, just under folio, 2 volumes, both thick.

Illustrations: black and white engravings including one of the exterior front of the house, many engravings of the sculptures etc. and a few of buildings visited, for example 'St. Sophia, Constantinople'.

¹ The volumes are dated 1794 but were not published until 1798.

Arundel Castle

1

Charles Wright, *The History and Description of Arundel Castle, Sussex, with an abstract of the lives of the Earls of Arundel*, (London: Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1817).

2nd edition (London: Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1818).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: Small, octavo.

Illustrations: Two small black and white illustrations: of the Norfolk Arms Inn and the Crown Inn.

2

Rev M A Tierney, Chaplain to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, *The History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel, including the Biography of its Earls, from the conquest to the present time*, (London: G. & W. Nicol, 1834).

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: Medium, quarto, thick.

Illustrations: Many illustrations of the exterior of the castle and surrounding buildings.

Ashridge

Henry John Todd, Archdeacon of Cleveland, *The History of the College of Bonhommes, at Ashridge, in the County of Buckingham, founded in the year 1276, by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall Compiled from original records To which is added, a description of the present Mansion*, (London: R. Gilbert, 1823).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: larger than folio.

Illustrations: exterior and interior scenes

Audley End

Richard Griffin, Lord Braybrooke, *The History of Audley End; to which are appended notices of the town and parish of Saffron Walden, etc LP*, (London: S. Bentley, 1836).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: folio.

Illustrations: portrait of Richard Griffin, Lord Braybrooke, oak screen in the hall, exterior views, plan.

Belvoir Castle

Irvin Eller, Chaplain to the 5th Duke, *The History of Belvoir Castle from the Norman Conquest to the nineteenth century: accompanied by a description of the present castle, and critical notes of the paintings, tapestry, statuary and c. with which it is enriched*, (1841).

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: quarto, quite thick.

Illustrations: family tree, portraits, interior of the mausoleum.

Berkeley Castle

H. Marklove, *Views of Berkeley Castle Taken on the spot, and drawn on stone, by Mr H Marklove*, (Nailsworth: William Partridge, 1840).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: larger than folio.

Illustrations: range of exterior and interior views with people.

Blair Adam

William Adam, *Blair Adam Plans*, 5 vols, (1834).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: just under octavo, but 5 vols.

Illustrations: views and plans of the estate grounds.

Blenheim

1

William F. Mavor, *A New Description of Blenheim: A new and improved edition Embellished with an elegant plan, etc*, (London: T. Cadell, 1789).

- 9 editions 1789-1814.

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Other: 2s 6d. (1793 edn).

Illustrations: house front and large plan of park.

-

2

John Preston Neale, *Six Views of Blenheim, Oxfordshire; the seat of His Grace the Duke of Marlborough by JP Neale with an historical description of that magnificent edifice*. (London: Sherwood, Jones & Co., 1823).

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: just over octavo.

Illustrations: plan of house, and exterior views of house facades and grounds.

Blithfield

Catalogue of the Pictures in the Possession of Lord Bagot at Blithfield, (Utttoxeter: R. Richards, 1801).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: just over octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Bramham Park

Bramham Park, (c. 1825).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: folio.

Illustrations: 14 illustrations of the house exterior and park.

Brislington House

Francis Charles Fox, *History and present state of Brislington House near Bristol and asylum for the cure and reception of insane persons, established by Edward Long Fox MD AD1804 and now conducted by Francis Charles Fox MDD*, (Bristol: Light & Ridler, 1836).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: just under quarto.

Illustrations: exterior views of house, inner courtyard and cottages.

Brocklesby Park

1

The Gallery at Brocklesby Park, the Seat of Lord Yarborough, (London: T. Gardiner, 1811).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: none.

2

Thomas Espin, *A Description of the Mausoleum in Brocklesby Park, Lincolnshire To which is added the genealogy of the Andersons and Pelhams, etc*, (Boston: J. Hellaby, 1812).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo, very slim volume.

Illustrations: mausoleum.

Bromley Hill

1

Amelia Long, *Mrs Long Etchings: 'Views of Bromley Hill'*, c. 1805.

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: larger than folio.

Illustrations: exterior views of house and park.

See over.....

Bromley Hill continued**2**

George Cumberland, *Bromley-Hill, the seat of the Right Hon Charles Long, MP: A sketch*, (London: R. Triphook, 1816).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Browsholme Hall**1**

Catalogue of the Paintings in the Gallery at Browsholme, the seat of Thomas Lister Parker Esq., (Lancaster: William Minshull, 1807).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: octavo, but slightly wider, very flimsy paper bound.

Illustrations: none.

2

Thomas Lister Parker, *Description of Browsholme Hall in the County of York; and the Parish of Waddington, in the same county, also a collection of letters from original manuscripts, in the reign of Charle I and II and James II in the possession of Thomas Lister Parker, of Browsholme Hall, Esq*, (London: S. Gosnell, 1815).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: quarto.

Illustrations: exterior views of house (including one from 1750), outbuildings, church, and interior views including the hall with armour.

Burghley House

1

J. Horn, *A History or Description, general and circumstantial, of Burghley House, the Seat of the Right Honourable the Earl of Exeter*, (Shrewsbury: J. & W. Eddowes, 1797).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: none.

2

Thomas Blore, *A Guide to Burghley House, Northamptonshire*, (Stamford: John Drake, 1815).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: large, between quarto and folio, quite thick.

Illustrations: house front and gatehouse.

Capesthorpe Hall

A Whitsuntide Ramble to Capesthorpe Park, etc Published for the benefit of the Macclesfield Public Baths and washhouses, (Macclesfield: Swinnerton & Brown, c. 1840).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: house front and tower lodge.

Cassiobury Park

John Britton, *The History and Description, with Graphic Illustrations, of Cassiobury Park, Hertfordshire, the seat of the Earl of Essex*, (London: the author, 1837).

Location: BL, PC

Guidebook details

Size: larger than folio.

Illustrations: black and white engravings and aquatints, of the house, grounds, gatehouse and cottages.

Castle Ashby

Peter Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: History of Castle Ashby, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (London: printed for the author by J. and A. Arch, 1841).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: larger than folio.

Illustrations: views of the house and details from interior ceilings.

Castle Howard

Frederick Howard, 5th Earl of Carlisle, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the pictures At Castle Howard*, (Malton: J. Gibson, 1814).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo and slim.

Illustrations: none.

Chatsworth

William George Spencer Cavendish, 6th Duke of Devonshire, *Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick*, (Privately Printed, 1845).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: quarto.

Illustrations: none.

Cokethorpe Park

Thomas May, *An Excursion to Cockthorpe Park, near Witney, in Oxfordshire. The Seat of Maximilian Western, Esq. on the 3rd of September, 1769. To which are added, verses written after seeing the gardens of Park-Place, near Henley, in Oxfordshire*, (1769).

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Corsham House

John Britton, *An Historical Account of Corsham House in Wiltshire, the seat of Paul Cobb Methuen, Esq With a catalogue of his celebrated collection of pictures, etc.*, (Bath: Joseph Barrett, & London: printed for the author, 1806).

Location: BL, PC

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: north front and ground floor plan.

Cotehele

Nicholas Condry, with text by Frances Vyvyan Jago Arundell, *Cothele, on the banks of the Tamar, the ancient seat of the Rt Honble the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, by N Condry [Lithographed plates] With a descriptive account written expressly for the work by the Revd F V J Arundell*, (London: the author, c. 1845).

Location: BL, COT

Guidebook details

Size: folio.

Illustrations: coloured lithographs of the exterior and interior peopled by figures in historical and contemporary dress.

Cowdray House

A Catalogue of the Pictures at Cowdray-House, The Seat of The Right Honourable Lord Viscount Montague, near Midhurst, Sussex, (Portsmouth: printed by R. Carr, 1777).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: just under quarto.

Illustrations: none.

Crewe Hall

Howard Vyse, *Views of Crewe Hall Cheshire*, (W. R. & L. Dickinson, c. 1840).

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: folio.

Illustrations: 5 hand-coloured lithographs of exterior of hall and park.

Croome Park

William Dean, gardener to the earl of Coventry, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of Croome d'Abitot, the seat of the Right Hon the Earl of Coventry; with biographical notices of the Coventry family: to which are annexed an Hortus Croomensis, and Observations on the propagation of exotics [With plates]*, (Worcester: T. Eaton, 1824).

Location: BLOU

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo

Illustrations: exterior views of the house and park.

The Deepdene

1

John Preston Neale, *An Account of the Deep-Dene, in Surrey, the seat of T Hope, Esq, etc [With three plates]*, (London: 1826).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: just under quarto.

Illustrations: exterior views of the house and park.

2

John Britton, c.1825-6, unpublished manuscripts see below).

Guidebook details: this consists of manuscripts of text and watercolours of the exterior and interior of the Deepdene held at the Minet Library, Lambeth and RIBA. They were intended to be published as a guide to the property, but the draft was never finished or published.

J. Britton, *A historical and descriptive account of TheDeepdene, the seat of Thomas Hoope (sic) Esq. & c. by John Britton* S2589 S.R., Minet Library, Lambeth, London.

See over.....

The Deepdene continued

The following title was also in notes at the Minet Library archives: *The Union of the Picturesque in Scenery and Architecture with Domestic Beauties*.

J. Britton, *The History of Hope's Deepdene, Vol. II*, VOS 96, RIBA Library, London.

Duncombe Park

1.

A Catalogue of the Pictures and Statues at Duncombe Park, (Kirby Moorside, 1797).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: none.

2.

Arthur Young, *A description of Duncombe Park and Rivaulx Abbey, etc (Taken chiefly from Mr Youngs northern tour)*, (Kirby Moorside: Harrison & Cooper, 1812).

2nd edn 1821.

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: Rievaulx Abbey ruins only.

Eastbury

Thomas Hutchings Clarke, *Eastbury Illustrated, by elevations, plans, sections, views, and other delineations of that once magnificent mansion, measured, drawn, engraved, and architecturally described by T H Clarke; with a historical sketch by William Henry Black*, (London: John Weale, 1834).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: just under folio.

Illustrations: exterior view of house, plans and elevations of exterior and interior, 2 colour reproductions of frescoes.

Eaton Hall

1

The Eaton Tourist, or a colloquial description of the hall, grounds, gardens, etc at Eaton, the seat of the Right Hon Earl Grosvenor, (Chester: J. Seacombe, 1825).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: East and West front, scenes of the park and interior rooms.

2

John Chessell Buckler, *Views of Eaton Hall, in Cheshire, the seat of the Right Honourable Earl Grosvenor*, (London: William Clarke, 1826).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: larger than folio.

Illustrations: many of interior and exterior.

Epsom (House of Josiah Diston)

A Brief Description of the House and Garden of Josiah Diston, Esq, at Epsom in Surry (sic), (1726).

Location: BLOU

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: 2 illustrations - a man sketching ruins, a man hunting and a man looking through a telescope.

Eshton Hall

C.J. Stewart, *A Catalogue of the Library collected by Miss Richardson Currer at Eshton Hall, Craven, Yorkshire [with plates]*, (London: printed for private circulation, 1820).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: wider than quarto but not as tall, quite thick.

Illustrations: none.

2nd edn (London: Robert Triphook, 1833).

Guidebook details

Size: wider than quarto but not as tall, quite thick.

Illustrations: exterior view of hall, grounds, interior of library with couples interacting, drawing room.

Felix Hall

Descriptive Sketch of ancient statues, busts, &c at F H, the seat of Lord Western, at Kelvedon, Essex: with plates, etc., (Chelmsford, 1833).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: almost quarto.

Illustrations: house front and interior sculptures and other objects.

Fonthill Abbey

1

James Storer, *A Description of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire, illustrated by views drawn and engraved by J Storer LP*, (London: W. Clarke, 1812).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: folio.

Illustrations: exterior views of house and park and interior of oratory.

2

John Rutter, *Delineations of Fonthill and its Abbey By J Rutter*, (London: L.P.C. Knight & Co., 1823).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: folio.

Illustrations: exterior and interior of house, St. Michael's gallery in colour.

See over.....

Fonthill Abbey continued**3**

John Britton, *Graphical and Literary Illustrations of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire; with heraldical and genealogical notices of the Beckford family*, (London: printed for the author, 1823).

Location: BL, PC

Guidebook details

Size: larger than quarto.

Illustrations: exterior and interior of house.

4

John Jefferson, *Fonthill: A Poem*, (Printed and Sold by T. Oakley, 1824).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: folio.

Illustrations: none.

5

John Nichols, *Historical Notices of Fonthill Abbey with eleven plates and fifteen other embellishments*, (London: J.B.Nichols and Son, 1836).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: folio.

Illustrations: plans, sections, interior and exterior views.

Forde Abbey

Francis Halse Tomlinson, *A visit to Ford Abbey, describing the history, paintings and antiquities, of that celebrated monastery* By F H Tomlinson, (London: printed for the author by J. Jessep, 1825).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: octavo, slim.

Illustrations: exterior view of house.

Goodwood

1

D. Jacques, Librarian to the Duke of Richmond, *A Visit to Goodwood, the Seat of the Duke of Richmond With an appendix descriptive of an ancient painting LP*, (Chichester, 1822).

Location: BL, PC

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: house front, Roman inscription (detail) and dog kennels.

2

William Hayley Mason, *Goodwood; its house, park, and grounds With a catalogue raisonne of the pictures in the gallery of His Grace the Duke of Richmond To which are added an account of the antient encampment, tumuli, and British village on the adjacent downs: and a detailed account of Goodwood Races from their first establishment. With six illustrations*. (London, 1839).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: front of house.

Gorhambury

Charlotte Grimston, *The History of Gorhambury*, (Privately Printed, 1821).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: folio.

Illustrations: house front, house plan and grounds.

Great Chalfield Manor

Tomas Larkins Walker, *The History and Antiquities of the Manor House and Church at Great Chalfield Wiltshire, the property of Sir Harry Barrard Neale, BART, GCB &c illustrated by twenty eight plates of plans, elevations, sections, parts at large, and a perspective view from sketches and measurements taken in 1836; forming part II of Examples of Gothic Architecture third series accompanied by historical and descriptive accounts by Thomas Larkins Walker, architect*, (London: printed for the author, 1837).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: folio.

Illustrations: front of house with figures in period dress, elevations of front and interior, interior and exterior architectural and decorative details and family tree.

Great Yarmouth, House of John Danby Palmer

Charles J. Palmer, *The history and illustrations of a house in the Elizabethan style of Architecture: the Property of John Danby Palmer, Esq., and situated in the borough-town of Great Yarmouth, Norfolk*, (London: printed for private distribution only, 1838).

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: just under quarto.

Illustrations: interior elevations.

Grove Hill

1

John Coakley Lettsom, *Grove Hill: An Horticultural Sketch*, (London: Stephen Couchman, 1794).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: quarto.

Illustrations: house and park views.

2nd edn. (London: Stephen Couchman, 1804).

Guidebook details

Size: quarto.

Illustrations: house and park views, some additional to the 1794 edn.

2

Thomas Maurice, *Grove Hill, a descriptive Poem, with an Ode to Mithra By the Author of "Indian Antiquities", Engravings by J Anderson, from Drawings by G Samuel*, (London: T. Bensley & J. Wright, 1799).

Location: PC

Size: just under quarto.

Illustrations: house and park views, interior.

Haddon Hall

1

Samuel Rayner, *The History and Antiquities of Haddon Hall, illustrated by 32 highly finished drawings with an account of the hall in its present state*, (Derby: Robert Mosley, 1836).

Location: CCA, PC

Guidebook details

Size: folio.

Illustrations: exterior and interior views of house, with figures in historical dress.

2

G.V., *A Visit to Haddon Hall in 1838: or a description of a baronial mansion of the olden time, Embellished with wood cuts* By G.V., (Derby, 1838).

Location: BL, PC

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo

Illustrations: exterior and interior views of house, with figures in historical dress.

3

George Cattermole, *Illustrations of Haddon Hall: from sketches made upon the spot by that eminent painter, George Cattermole, ESQ. Containing thirty-six highly finished prints of this most interesting building*, (Derby: Robert Mosely, 1839).

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: quarto.

Illustrations: interior and exterior scenes with characters in period dress.

See over.....

Haddon Hall continued**4**

Douglas Morison, *Views of Haddon Hall*, (London, 1842).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: folio.

Illustrations: exterior and interior views of house, with figures in historical dress.

Hafod

George Cumberland, *An Attempt to Describe Hafod and the neighbouring scenes about the bridge over the Funack, commonly called the Devil's Bridge, in the County of Cardigan: An Ancient Seat belonging to Thomas Johnes, Esq., member for the county of Radnor*, (Doctor's Commons: W. Wilson, 1799).

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: drawings of the scenery and a foldout map of the estate.

Hagley Park**1**

Joseph Healey, *A Description of Hagley Park by the author on the Beauties of Hagley, Enville and Leasowes*, (London: printed for the author, 1777).

Location: BL, CCA

Guidebook details

Size: between octavo and quarto, slim.

Illustrations: none.

See over.....

Hagley Hall continued**2**

Catalogue of the Pictures, Statues and Busts in the Best Apartments in Hagley-Hall,
(Stourbridge: printed at the office of J. Heming, 1811).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: between octavo and quarto.

Illustrations: none.

Hampshire: A Gentleman's Residence

William Sims, *Sketches of a Gentleman's Residence in Hampshire by William Sims drawing master, consisting of 13 views*, (London: published by the artist, 1840).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: quarto.

Illustrations: exterior views of the house and surrounding buildings.

Hardwick Hall

Peter Frederick Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus of Hardwick Hall illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (London: for the author by J. and J. Arch, 1835).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: larger than folio.

Illustrations: plan, interior and exterior views of the house.

Harewood

Guidebook

John Jewell, *The tourist's companion, or the history and antiquities of Harewood, in Yorkshire, giving a particular description of Harewood House, Church and Castle with some account of its environs, selected from various authors, and containing much information never before published* [With a pedigree of the family of Lascelles], (Leeds: B. Dewhurst, 1819).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: foldout illustration of the house in the distance showing also a church and cottage; a second illustration of the market cross and a foldout family tree.

Haseley House

John Wastie, *A Descriptive List of Pictures belonging to the Collection of Pictures belonging to John Wastie at Great Hasely House, Tetsworth*, (Bury St. Edmund's, 1834).

Location: BLOU

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Hatfield

Peter Frederick Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: History of Hatfield House, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (London: printed for the author by J. and A. Arch, 1833).

Location: BL, PC

Guidebook details

Size: larger than folio.

Illustrations: plan of the old palace, interior and exterior views and elevations. A view of Hatfield House and grounds with a seated party on the lawn, archery and a man in full military uniform on horseback was incorrectly bound in the *Vitruvius Britannicus* for Hardwick Hall in one copy I consulted.

Hawkstone

1

T. Rodenhurst, *A Description of Hawkstone, the seat of Sir Richard Hill*, (Shrewsbury, 1784).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: none.

2

A Description of Hawkstone, the seat of Sir John Hill, Bart, with wood engravings, (Shrewsbury, 1822).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: view of the house, the inn, garden buildings and structures.

Hawkstone continued**3**

Jane Hill, *Some Account of the Antiquities of Hawkstone in the County of Salop*, (London: W. and J. Eddowes, c. 1830).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: just under octavo.

Illustrations: castle hill with the Red Castle shrouded in mist, remains of a tower.

Hendersyde Park

John Waldie, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the collection of pictures, sculptures, bronzes, &c at Hendersyde Park, the seat of J Waldie*, (Edinburgh: Peter Brown, 1835).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Hengrave Hall

John Gage, *The History and Antiquities of Hengrave in Suffolk*, (London: J.F. Dove, 1822).

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: just over quarto.

Illustrations: front views, inner court, Hengrave Church and a plan from 1588.

Hexton House

H. T. Hodgson, *A Catalogue of Pictures in Hexton Hall*, (London: Printed for the author, 1826).

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: between octavo and quarto.

Illustrations: none.

Holkham

1

Matthew Brettingham, *The Plans Elevations and Sections of Holkham in Norfolk, the seat of the Earl of Leicester*, (London: J. Haberkorn, 1761).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: very large, much larger than folio.

Illustrations: plans; north, south and east fronts; lodges; grounds and interior sections and elevations.

2nd edn (London: S. Leacroft, 1773).

2

A Description of Holkham House, in Norfolk; With a particular of the pictures, statues, bustoes, and other marbles therein, published by permission of Hon. Wenman Coke, (Norwich: Printed by R. Beatniffe, 1775).

Location: BL, CCA

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: none.

See over.....

Holkham continued**3**

J. Dawson, *The Stranger's Guide to Holkham, containing a description of the paintings, statues, &c of Holkham House in the County of Norfolk; the magnificent seat and residence of T W Coke, Esq MP Also a brief account of the park,, gardens &c &c with a short narrative of the sheep-shearing, annually held at Holkham. Embellished with a view of the South Front Compiled by J Dawson*, (Norwich: J. Dawson, 1817).

Location: BL, CCA

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo, quite thick.

Illustrations: a south view of the house.

4

John Blome, *New Description of Holkham, the seat of T W Coke containing a full account of the paintings, statues, tapestry, &c with a picturesque tour of the gardens and park*, (Wells: H. Neville, 1826).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: one small illustration of a tree only.

Houghton Hall

1

Isaac Ware, *The Plans, Elevations, and Sections, Chimney Pieces, and Ceilings of Houghton, the Seat of Sir Robert Walpole, by I Ware; engraved by Fourdrinier*, (Norfolk, 1735)

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: folio.

Illustrations: interior and exterior plans, elevations, sections and details.

2

Horace Walpole, *Aedes Walpolianae: or, a description of the collection of pictures at Houghton-Hall in Norfolk, the seat of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford*, (London, 1747).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: just over quarto.

Illustrations: portrait of Sir Robert Walpole, portrait of Lady Catherine Walpole, fold out plan of the ground floor and principal floor, west and east front elevations.

--3rd edn (London, 1767).

Illustrations: portrait of Sir Robert Walpole, portrait of Lady Catherine Walpole only.

The Hyde

John Disney, *A catalogue of some marbles, bronzes, pictures and gems, at the Hyde near Ingatestone, Essex. The greater part successively the property of Thomas Hollis Esq FRS and SA and Thomas Brand-Hollis Esq FRS and SA and now of John Disney, DD FSA.* 1809, (Privately Printed, 1809).

Location: NAL

Guidebook details

Size: just under octavo.

Illustrations: exterior house view and certain objects from the collection.

Ilam Hall

Jesse Watts Russell, *A Catalogue of the Ilam Gallery* 1827, (Ashbourn, 1828).

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Ince Blundell

Henry Blundell, *Engravings and Etchings of the Principal Statues, Busts, Bass-Reliefs, Sepulchral Monuments, Cinerary Urns &c in the collection of Henry Blundell Esq at Ince*, (Ince Blundell, 1809).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: larger than folio.

Illustrations: portrait of Henry Blundell, view of the park pantheon and its portico, 77 plates of objects from the collection.

Kedleston Hall

Catalogue of the pictures, statues, &c at Kedleston With some account of the architecture, (1810).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Kinfauns Castle

David Morison, *Catalogue of the Gray Library, Kinfauns Castle*, (Kinfauns Press, 1828).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: larger than folio and very thick.

Illustrations: only illuminations around each page to reflect the subject matter of books listed (such as a Zulu King with a spear and grass skirt in the foreign history section), some in colour.

Knole

1

Biographical sketches of eminent persons, whose portraits form part of the Duke of Dorset's collection at Knole. With a brief description of the place. Embellished with a front and East view of Knole, (London: printed for John Stockdale, 1795).

Location: BL, PC

Guidebook details

Size: just under octavo.

Illustrations: front view of the house.

See over.....

Knole continued**2**

John Bridgman, steward to the Duke of Dorset, *An Historical and Topographical Sketch of Knole, with a brief Genealogy of the Sackville Family*, (1817).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: just under octavo.

Illustrations: front view of house, a tower, interior of the hall and illustrations of various coats of arms.

3

John Henry Brady, *The Visitor's Guide to Knole, in the County of Kent, with catalogues of the pictures contained in the mansion, and biographical notices of the principal persons whose portraits form part of the collection*, (Sevenoaks: James Payne, 1839).

Location: BL, PC

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: exterior and interior views with figures in period costume.

Knowle Cottage

J. Harvey, *Harvey's Correct and authorized Guide to Illustrations and views of Knowle Cottage Sidmouth, the elegant Marine Villa Orne of Thos L Fish*, (Sidmouth: J. Harvey, 1837).

Location: BL, CCA

2 copies, same reference details.

Guidebook details – British Library copy.

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Guidebook details – CCA copy.

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: 12 colour lithographs of the house interior and exterior and garden with exotic birds.

Other: An inscription in pen in the front – ‘Presented by Mr Fish to Mrs E Wolfe November 24th 1848’.

Knowlsey Hall

Hamlettus Winstanley, *Praenobili Jacobo Comiti Derby Dno Stanley, & Strange de Knocking, Baroni Weeton, Vicmiti Kinton, Dno Mohun, Burnell, Bassett & Lacey. Praesidi Custodi Rotularum, Vices- Thalafsiarchiae obtinenti, Comitatus Palatini Lancaster. Camerario Civitatis Palatini Chester. Dno Monae & Insularum & Co* (1728).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: much larger than folio.

Illustrations: 19 illustrations of the paintings at Knowlsey.

Lacock Abbey

1

Rev. George Witham, *The History of Lacock Abbey, or Locus Beatae Mariae From Dugdale, Stevens &c, with additions on the present state of the Abbey*, (Privately printed by Rev G. Witham, 1806).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: none.

2

Revd. William Lisle Bowles, & John Gough Nichols, *Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey in Wiltshire, with memorials of the foundress Ela Countess of Salisbury and of the Earls of Salisbury of the houses of Salisbury and Longespe, including notices of the Monasteries of Bradenstoke, Hinton and Farley*, (London: John Bowyer Nichols & Son, 1835).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Leatherhead Priory

1

William Cotton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of some Pictures, books and prints medals, bronzes, and other curiosities collected by Charles Rogers Esq. FRS FAS and now in the possession of William Cotton, MA FAS of the Priory, Leatherhead, Surrey*, (London: Samuel Bentley, 1836).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: between octavo and quarto.

Illustrations: library interior, portrait of C. Rogers by Reynolds and the front of the house through the trees.

2

J. D. (James Dalloway), *Some account of the Cistercian Priory of Ripa Mola in a letter to the secretary of the antiq. soc.* (Privately Printed by Samuel Bentley, 1837).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: just under quarto.

Illustrations: views of the house and grounds.

Lee Priory

Thomas Barrett Brydges, *List of Pictures at the Seat of TB Brrydges Barrett, Esq. at Lee Priory in the County of Kent*, (Privately Printed by John Warwick at Lee Priory, 1817).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: just over octavo.

Illustrations: entrance gate, coat of arms and view of the house

Leigh Court

John Young, *A Catalogue of the Pictures at Leigh Court, near Bristol; the Seat of Philip John Miles, Esq MP with etchings from the whole collection executed by permission of the proprietor accompanied with historical and biographical notices*, (London: W. Bulmer & W. Nichol, 1822).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: quarto.

Illustrations: of each painting in the collection.

Longleat

Rose Pocock, *To the most Honourable John Alexander, the youthful Marquess of Bath, these views, taken from the princely Domain of Longleat, are most respectfully dedicated by R R Pocock*, (Bristol: privately printed, 1840).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: folio.

Illustrations: 6 black and white lithographs: porter's lodge, the garden front of the house, entrance hall, view from 'Heaven's Gate, Shearwater lake with boathouse and Horningsham Church and village.

Luton Park

Henry Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of the Chapel at Luton Park, a seat of the Marquess of Bute*, (London: James Carpenter and Son, 1829).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: much larger than folio.

Illustrations: exterior and interior elevations, sections and details.

Marbury Hall

A Catalogue of Paintings, Statues, Busts, & c. at Marbury Hall the seat of John Smith Barry Esq in the County of Chester, (Warrington: J. & J. Haddock, 1819).

Location: NAL

Guidebook details

Size: between octavo and quarto.

Illustrations: none.

Merly

Ralph Willett, *A Description of the Library at Merly in the County of Dorset: Description de la Bibliothèque de Merly dans le Comté de Dorset*, (London: Printed for the author, Ralph Willett Esq by John Nichols, 1785)

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: interior views and decorative details in the library.

Middle Hill

Thomas Phillips, *A Catalogue of the Books at Middle Hill, Worcestershire, 1819*, (Salisbury: printed by J.A. Gilmour, 1819).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: narrower but much taller than octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Mount Edgcumbe

1

A Walk Round Mount Edgcumbe, (Plymouth Dock: printed by L. Congdon at the Telegraph-Office, 1812).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: none.

2

Eight Views of Mount Edgcumbe, (London: William Clarke, 1820).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: fountain in the orangerie, the house from the Great Avenue, the blockhouse, barn pool and the house from the battery, Temple of Milton, cottage, arch with a view of Plymouth Sound, Chapel in Pickle Combe and Lodge in Hoe Lake (no text).

Northwick Park

Anne Rushout, *Picturesque Scenery in Northwick Park, Worcestershire from drawings taken by the HONble Anne Rushout*, (London: Edward Orme, 1815).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: much larger than folio.

Illustrations: 6 illustrations of exterior views of the house and park.

See over.....

Northwick Park continued**2***Catalogue of Pictures and Works of Art at Northwick Park*, (1835).**Location:** CCA**Guidebook details****Size:** just under folio.**Illustrations:** only diagrams of the placements of paintings on the wall.**Nuneham House***Description of Nuneham Courtenay in the County of Oxford*, (Oxford: privately printed 1797).**Location:** BL**Guidebook details****Size:** octavo.**Illustrations:** none.**Osterley Park***Willim Hayes, The Osterley Menagerie: portraits of rare and curious birds from the menagerie at Osterley Park in the County of Middlesex*. (London: 1793).**Location:** BL**Guidebook details****Size:** quarto.**Illustrations:** colour illustrations of birds only.

Perry Barr Hall

Charles Radclyffe, *Views of Perry Barr Hall: the seat of John Gough, Esq. /from drawings by Charles Radclyffe*. (Birmingham: Wrightson and Webb Publishers, 1838).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: much larger than folio.

Illustrations: 8 illustrations taken from drawings: entrance gate, 2 front views of the house, 4 side views of the house and a view of a cottage in the grounds.

Pitzhanger Manor

John Soane, *Plans, Elevations, and perspective views of Pitzhanger Manor House, and of the ruins of an edifice of Roman architecture situated on the border of Ealing-Green; with a description of the ancient and present state of the Manor House In a Letter to a Friend*, (London: 1802).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: between quarto and folio.

Illustrations: plans and views of the exterior and interior.

Porkington Hall (now known as Brogyntyn Hall)

Views of Porkington Hall Shropshire, from original drawings. (1835).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: just under folio.

Illustrations: views of the house in 1695, and at different periods from then on until 1817.

Rosamond's Bower

Thomas Crofton Croker, *A Description of Rosamond's Bower Fulham, distant three mile from Hyde Park Corner, the residence of T. Crofton Croker, Esq.*, (London: printed for private circulation only, 1842-3).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: just under quarto.

Illustrations: view of the house front and an interior view, some smaller decorative illustrations.

Saltmarshe Castle

A descriptive catalogue of the gallery of pictures collected by E Higginson, Esq, of Saltmarshe, (London: privately printed, 1842).

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Saltram House

Catalogue of the Pictures, Casts and Busts belonging to the Earl of Morley at Saltram, (Plymouth: privately printed by P. Nettleton & Son, 1819).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Sezincote

John Martin, *Views of Sezincot House*, (1818).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: much larger than folio.

Illustrations: exterior views of the house and grounds.

South Win(g) field Manor

Thomas Blore, *An History....of the Manor House of South Wingfield*, (London: D. Brewman, 1793).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: just under quarto.

Illustrations: views of the house exterior, seals and family trees.

-2nd edn (London: D. Brewman, 1816).

South Wraxhall

Thomas Larkins Walker, *The History and Antiquities of the Manor House, at South Wraxhall, and the Church of Saint Peter, at Biddestone, Wiltshire: forming part III of examples of Gothic Architecture, third series*, (London: Printed for the author and published at his office, 2 Keppel Street, Russell Square, 1838).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: just under folio.

Illustrations: a view of the house exterior, plans and elevations and details of the interior and exterior.

Stoke Park (Stoke Poges Park)

John Penn, *An Historical and descriptive account of Stoke Park in Buckinghamshire containing the information relative to that place supplied by the family now in possession, for Mr Hakewell's history of Windsor, & c. with many additional particulars, and a new management of the matter*, (London: W. Bulmer, 1813).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: views of the house and grounds.

Stourhead

1

A Description of the House and Gardens at Stourhead in the County of Wilts, the Seat of Sir Richard Hoare, Bart, with a Catalogue of the Pictures, & c. (Salisbury, 1800).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: none.

2

Sir Richard Colt Hoare, *Stourhead House and Gardens Described*, (Bath, 1818).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Stowe

1

Sarah Bridgeman, *A General Plan of the Woods, Park and Gardens of Stowe the Seat of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham Dedicated to his lordship by Sarah Bridgeman*, (1739).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: much larger than folio.

Illustrations: plan of the estate, views of the house and gardens.

2

Benjamin Seeley, *A dialogue: containing a description of the gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham, at Stow in Buckinghamshire*, (Buckingham, 1751).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: quarto.

Illustrations: Palladian Bridge, Temple of the Worthies and other garden structures.

3

William Gilpin, *A dialogue upon the gardens of the right honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham at Stow in Buckinghamshire*, (1747).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: none.

See over.....

Stowe continued**4**

George Bickham, *The Beauties of Stow, or a Description of the most noble house, gardens and magnificent buildings therein With above thirty copper plates two views of the house, and a curious general plan of the whole gardens*, (London: G.Bickham, 1753).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: exterior views of the garden buildings and statues.

Strawberry Hill

Horace Walpole, *A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole at Strawberry-Hill, near Twickenham With an inventory of the furniture, pictures, curiosities, &c*, (Strawberry Hill: Pined by Thomas Kirgate, 1774).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: just under quarto.

Illustrations: garden, and views of the house exterior and interior.

Tabley House

1

William Carey Esq., *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings by British Artists in the possession of Sir John Fleming Leicester By William Carey With occasional remarks by Sir Richard Colt Hoare*, (London: J. Nichols and Son, 1819).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: just over octavo.

Illustrations: interior of the gallery only.

2

John Young, *A Catalogue of Pictures by British Artists in the Possession of Sir John Fleming Leicester, Bart, with etchings from the whole collection including the pictures in his Gallery at Tabley House Cheshire; executed by permission of the proprietor and accompanied with historical and biographical notices*, (London: W. Bulmer & W. Nicol, 1821).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: quarto and thick.

Illustrations: illustration of each painting.

Thirlestaine House

John Rushout, *Hours in Lord Northwick's Picture Galleries; being a Catalogue with Critical and Descriptive Notices of some of the principal paintings in Thirlestane House Collection*, (Cheltenham: Henry Davies, 1843).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: just under octavo.

Illustrations: front view of the house.

-2nd edn (Cheltenham: Henry Davies, 1843).

Guidebook details

Size: just under octavo.

Illustrations: ground floor plan.

Toddington

John Britton, *Graphic Illustrations and Descriptive accounts of Toddington*, (London, 1840).

Location: BL, PC

Guidebook details

Size: taller than quarto.

Illustrations: exterior and interior views of the house.

Wardour Castle

John Rutter, *An historical and descriptive sketch of Wardour Castle and Demesne, Wilts: the seat of Everard Arundell, Lord Arundell of Wardour, with a catalogue of the celebrated collection of paintings Intended as an accurate and pleasing guide*, (Shaftesbury: printed and published by John Rutter, 1822).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Warwick Castle

Guidebook

1

Joseph Edmondson, *An historical and genealogical account of the noble family of Greville Including the History of the several Earls of Warwick and some account of Warwick Castle*, (London: 1750).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: quarto.

Illustrations: none

2

Charles William Spicer, *Vitruvius Britannicus: History of Warwick Castle, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (London: 1843).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: much larger than folio.

Illustrations: exterior and interior views of the house, plans, coats of arms and elevations.

Weston Underwood

Guidebook

James Sargant Storer and John Greig, *Cowper, illustrated by a series of views, in or near, the park of Weston-Underwood, Bucks. Accompanied with copious descriptions and a brief sketch of the poet's life*, (London: Vernor & Hood, 1803).

Location: BL, PC

Guidebook details

Size: between octavo and quarto.

Illustrations: views of the house and grounds with emphasis on places described in the poetry of William Cowper, or of relevance to his life.

White-Knights

1

George Spencer Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, *Catalogus Librorum qui in Biblioteca Blandfordiensi, reperiuntur*, (London: Ballintine & Byworth, printers, 1812).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: none.

2

Barbara Hofland, *A Descriptive Account of the Mansion and Gardens of White Knights, with twenty-three engravings from pictures by T C Hofland*, (London: printed for His Grace the Duke of Marlborough by W. Wilson, 1819).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: exterior and interior views of the house, coloured illustration of the chapel interior.

Wilton House

1

Cary Creed, *Etchings by Cary Creed, with accompanying captions, of the antique marbles in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton House*, (Privately Printed, 1731).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: quarto.

Illustrations: illustrations individual items in the sculpture collection.

2

C. Gambarini, *A description of the Earl of Pembroke's pictures. Now published by C. Gambarini of Lucca. Being an introduction to his design*. (London: Pined by C. Campbell, 1731).

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: none.

3

Richard Cowdry, *A Description of the Pictures, Statues, Busto's, Basso-relievo's, and other curiosities at the Earl of Pembroke's house at Wilton, etc*, (London: Printed for the author, 1751).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: just under quarto

Illustrations: none

See over.....

Wilton House continued**4**

John Kennedy, *A new description of the Pictures and other Curiosities at the Earl of Pembroke's House at Wilton-House, illustrated with twenty-five engravings of some of the Capital Statues, Bustos and Relievos*. In this work are introduced the Anecdotes and Remarks of Thomas Earl of Pembroke, who collected these Antiques, and first published from his Lordship's MSS. (London: R. Baldwin, 1759).

Location: BL, PC

Guidebook details

Size: quarto.

Illustrations: illustration of each item in the sculpture collection.

5

George Richardson, *Aedes Pembrochianae: A New Account and Description of the Statues, Bustos, Relievos, Paintings, Medals and other antiquities and curiosities in Wilton-House in which the ancient poets and artists are made mutually to explain an illustrate each other. To which is Prefixed a Dissertation on the Origin, Progress and Decay of Sculpture among the Greeks and Romans, with a complete index*, (Printed and sold by H. Coward at Wilton House, 1768).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Wimbledon (now Cannizaro House)

John Lyde Brown, *Catalogus veteris aevi varii generis monumentorum quae cimeliarchio LydeBrowne, ARM. ANT. SOC. SOC. apud Wimbledon asservantur*, (London, 1768).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Woburn Abbey

Guidebooks

1

Horace Walpole, *Notes to the portraits at Woburn Abbey*, (London, 1791).

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: between octavo and quarto.

Illustrations: none.

2

Stephen Dodd, *An Historical and topographical Account of the town of Woburn and its Abbey and vicinity, containing also a concise genealogy of the house of Russell and memoirs of the late Francis, Duke of Bedford*. *Parvum parva decent*, (Woburn: S. Dodd, 1818).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: just under octavo.

Illustrations: exterior view of the house and one of Woburn Church.

See over.....

Woburn Abbey continued**3**

Outline Descriptions and Engravings of the Woburn Abbey Marbles (London: W. Nichol, Shakspeare Press, 1822).

Location: CCA

Guidebook details

Size: much larger than folio, red leather binding.

Illustrations: exterior elevation of the sculpture gallery and temples, plan of the sculpture gallery and an illustration of each sculpture.

-same edition also published in just over octavo size, both copies at CCA.

4

A Catalogue of Miniature Portraits in Enamel, (London: W. Nichol, Shakspeare Press, 1825).

Location: PC

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: none.

5

P. F. Robinson, *Vitruvius Britannicus: Woburn Abbey, illustrated by Plans, Elevations and internal views of the apartments, from actual measurement*, (J. and A. Arch, Cornhill; Longman and Co, 1827).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: much larger than folio.

Illustrations: exterior and interior views of the house.

See over.....

Woburn Abbey continued**6**

J.D. Parry, *A Guide to Woburn Abbey*, (London: Longman and Co., Woburn: S. Dodd & Brighton: F. Wright, 1831).

Location: CCA, PC

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo, 2 versions in CCA – one red leather bound, one cardboard boards.

Illustrations: exterior views of the house, including one ‘in its former state’ with monks.

- one copy at CCA has a stained glass window from the church in place of the illustration with monks.

7

Catalogue of the Portraits in the collection of John Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey, (London: Printed by James Moyes, 1834).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Woodcote House

A Descriptive Account of Pictures in Woodcott-House Oxfordshire, the property of Adam Duff, Esq.. (Reading: R. Welch, 1839).

Location: BLOU

Guidebook details

Size: smaller than octavo.

Illustrations: none.

Woolley Hall

Augustine Aglio, *To Godfrey Wentworth Junr Esqre this series of Sketches of the Interior and Temporary Decorations in Woolley-Hall, Yorkshire; drawn, painted, and etched by A Aglio: is humbly dedicated*, (London: Published by the artist, 1821).

Location: BL

Guidebook details

Size: larger than folio.

Illustrations: small portrait of the lithographer, lithographs of the exterior and interior of the house, one of the procession to mark the opening of the new public road in 1818 and some of the paintings.